

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH WITH THE CO-OPERATION
OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

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General
Wahr

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXIV

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Editorial

TEACHING VERGIL IN 1930

At the recent meeting of the American Classical League in Minneapolis the Secretary-Treasurer of our Association made a valuable suggestion to the effect that every effort be put forth to enroll as many students as possible in Vergil classes in 1930-31. The proposal involves more ramifications than the most obvious one. In numerous high schools, especially in the Middle West, the third year of Latin alternates in reading Cicero and Vergil. By a little manipulation it will be possible in many of these schools to arrange that Vergil be the author studied in 1930-31. Moreover, literally hundreds of high schools seldom offer more than two years of Latin. Here is presented a splendid chance of conducting a campaign all this year with a view to quickening the interest of second-year students to the point of not only desiring to study the *Aeneid* next year but also of petitioning the authorities for an opportunity to do so. Hard-hearted must be the superintendent or principal, however lukewarm toward classical studies, who would deny his pupils the privilege of thus participating in so rare and interesting an anniversary as the bimillennial of Vergil's birth. Even in schools which maintain the traditional four years of Latin, the same campaign is still in order so that more than the usual percentage of juniors may be carried over into the *Aeneid*. Superior second-year students may well be encouraged, also, to defer Cicero for a year and pass directly into the Vergil course. It is splendid to lay all kinds of tributes at the feet of Vergil, but no other tribute can possibly compare with that involved in actually reading his great epic after the lapse of twenty centuries.

In this connection readers may well be reminded of certain actions taken at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in Nashville last April. In the first place, the editors of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* were instructed to make the issue of October, 1930, a special commemorative number in honor of Vergil. Steps have already been initiated to secure this result. In the second place, a prize of twenty-five dollars was offered, under certain conditions which were mentioned in the June issue of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, for the best Latin tribute to the great Mantuan. Scores of classical teachers ought to compete for this prize. Finally, a committee was authorized to receive further suggestions and to formulate other plans for the approaching celebration; this is where each one of us may contribute his mite towards the success of the undertaking.

R. C. F.

THE TEACHING OF DERIVATIVES AS TREATED IN A RECENT FIRST-YEAR LATIN BOOK ¹

By LESTER M. PRINDLE
University of Vermont

Many recent first-year books were considered before the present paper was written, and all of them are open to one or more of the objections which are developed below. The particular book out of which this paper grew and from which most of the examples are taken was chosen because it seemed open to more of these objections than any of the others. The author of this book will be spoken of as "Jones." The lesson vocabularies are arranged in three columns, "Latin Words," "English Meanings," and "Related English Words." Only words which are wholly or partly of Latin origin are included in Column III. Of the 420 Latin words in the lesson vocabularies 350 have related English words given. Usually there is but one of these, though in ninety cases we find two and occasionally as many as three. Of the seventy Latin words with which no related words are given, twenty-three are adverbs, conjunctions, or prepositions, fifteen have the obvious derivatives given in the "English Meanings" column, and about thirty have no English derivatives or only such as are rarely found. The omission of "duke" from *dux* and of "adduce" from *adduco* was probably due to inadvertence.

There is no other provision for derivative study in the daily lessons. There are ten review lessons. Numbers One, Two, and Four give short lists of English words and ask what Latin words they suggest. A few English words not given in the daily lessons are added in these reviews. Number Three gives a list of Latin words and asks for the English words they suggest. The

¹ Read before the Classical Association of New England at Deerfield, Mass., March 30, 1928.

fifth review lesson gives sample derivative lists of the common types, *i.e.* without definitions, with definitions, and with sentences in which the words are correctly used. The last five review lessons ask the pupils to list the derivatives of some common verbs in one or another of these ways and also give more lists of English words with requests for the Latin originals. It should be noted that in these last reviews the lists of English words are introduced by the question, "From what Latin words are the following English words derived?" instead of, "What Latin words are suggested by the following English words?"

There are ten lines of suggestions on "Derivation" on p. 2 of the *Teachers Manual*, which the publishers will supply to proper persons. A paragraph of introduction to the sample lists on pages 178 f. tells the teacher a way of grading similar lists prepared by the pupils. Except for these two paragraphs, teachers and pupils are left to make such use as they choose of the "Related English Words" in Column III. The value of the book, then, as far as derivative study is concerned, depends on the degree of care with which these words have been chosen.

One should say at the outset that there are very few actual mistakes. "Divide" is not related to *video*, nor is "inception" related to *coepti*, except in meaning. "Compare" does not come from *comparo*, "to get ready," but from *comparo*, "to compare." The presence of a few such errors would not be a very serious matter, were the treatment of the subject of derivatives generally sound.

The first question to be asked about a derivative is, "How often will the pupil meet this word in his reading? How often will he have occasion to use it in writing or talking?" Among the derivatives given in *Jones* are the following: albino, sempiternal, cantor, canticle, annunciation, quidnunc, adjuvant, putative, umbrage, incertitude, cicerone, riparian, auricular, judicature, fructify, hodiernal, and cervine. A colleague in the English department has a daughter thirteen years old, who is now in her third year of Latin. She went through the lists in *Jones* and marked fifty-four words which she did not know and could not get at the meaning of from the etymology. Fourteen of the words given above were

put on the board and a class of eight students was asked to give written definitions. No one got more than half of them right. And yet these students have had from two and one-half to three and one-half years of college Latin. Three of them were elected to Phi Beta Kappa at Mid-Year's. It is clear that many of the words *Jones* gives will not prove useful to students in the first year of the high school.

Even a useful word, however, is not necessarily a proper subject for etymological study at the high-school level. The meaning of the derivative must be so like that of its Latin original that a knowledge of either tells us something significant about the other. Since the related words are given without contexts, the pupil must get their meaning from the Latin words in the first column, or he must consult a dictionary, whether printed or walking. In the first lesson is *bona*, related word, "bonus." A pupil who does not know the meaning of "bonus" will not be helped to it by the etymology. If he is a good student, he will expect "bonus" to be something masculine. A pupil who already knows the meaning of "bonus" will doubtless agree that it is a "good thing," but he could scarcely guess the meaning of the Latin word, were it not given. *Longus* and *latus* do not give much clue to "longitude" and "latitude" in their technical senses. In the words of him who was born to be a syntactician but went astray into mathematics, "Alice had not the slightest idea what Latitude was, or Longitude either, but she thought they were nice grand words to say." *Moneo* will not tell us that a "monitor" is a "person who takes attendance in chapel," the "'cheesebox on a raft' that sank the Merrimac," a "large-sized African lizard," and the "official daily of the Christian Science Church." So with *gero*, "jest"; *urbs*, "urbane"; *noster*, "nostrum" and "pater noster"; *annus*, "annuity"; *pons*, "pontoon"; *gaudeo*, "gaudy."

It is interesting to know that "umbrella" means a "little shadow," because from that fact we can infer what history shows to be true, that the umbrella in its native habitat was a parasol, and changed its *animum* with its *caelum* when it went across the sea to foggy England. Furthermore, since *umbra* and "umbrella" are

somewhat alike in form, the meaning of *umbra* will perhaps be more easily remembered just because the character of its relation to "umbrella" is so striking and unexpected. Practically, however, etymology contributes nothing at all to an understanding of the word "umbrella" as it is used in modern English. The pupil will learn some interesting mediaeval history in a journey from *templum* to "templar"; but unless he has read *Ivanhoe*, the history is simply one more thing to be learned.

Knowing the meaning of "vital" will help in learning and remembering that of *vita*. Knowing the meaning of *vita* will throw new light on the meaning of "vital." Both will be better understood and more easily remembered when once associated. The first derivatives to be taught should be mostly obvious derivatives, because the very idea of derivation will be a new one to many pupils. In the case of obvious derivatives which have undergone only slight changes in meaning, the pupil does not have to learn the meaning of the new English or Latin word. He has merely to realize that he already knows it, if he knows the other word of the pair. But when the derivative looks very little like the original and means something very different, the pupil has to learn at least one and probably two distinct and apparently unrelated words. More than that, he has to take the teacher's word for the relationship or to learn the how and why of the change in meaning and form. The first course may and should produce distrust of the whole subject. The other may prove interesting in the extreme, that is, if the teacher is competent and the pupils fairly intelligent. Otherwise, it will result in loss of valuable time and make confusion worse confounded. The average high-school child may not be brilliant, but he very often has sense enough to know when etymology does and does not help in getting at the meaning of an English word. One may use etymology in teaching English and Latin vocabulary, or the principles of sound change and meaning change, or the history of civilization, or all three at once. Only, they are not the same thing.

If, then, a derivative is a word the pupil should know, if its etymology helps him to understand its meaning, and if a knowl-

edge of the derivative makes it easier to remember the form and meaning of the Latin original, it is a proper word for him to study. Not necessarily. According to the *General Report of the Classical Investigation* (Part One, p. 71), one of the aims of Latin study is "an elementary knowledge of the simpler general principles of language structure." It may be that the principles now to be discussed are not elementary and should not be taught. Yet whether a book should be constructed in entire disregard or open defiance of them is at least an open question.

When we say that one word is derived from another, we may mean either that the English word "oratory," for example, is the Latin word *oratoria*, which has been taken over with some change in spelling, pronunciation, and meaning, or that the Latin word *oratoria* is formed from another Latin word *orator* which has the same root. If we say that "oratory" is derived from *os*, we are using the word "derived" in both senses at once. The complete series of words in this case is: *os, oro, orator, oratorius, oratoria (ars), "oratory."* For convenience, let us call *os* in this series, or the corresponding word in any similar series, the primitive. Then *oro, orator, oratorius* will be derivatives of the first, second, and third degrees, respectively, and so on. Very often the English derivative is nearer in every respect to its Latin original than that Latin original is to its own Latin primitive. So "oratory," *oratoria, os*.

It seems obvious that if one were teaching Latin and English words merely from the point of view of etymology, the Latin primitive would be given first, then the Latin derivatives in the order of their formation, and finally the English derivatives, each under its Latin original. But other considerations quite properly have greater weight in determining what Latin words are to be given in an elementary book and more especially when they are to be given. Sometimes the primitive or the simple verb is not common in easy prose, whereas one of its derivatives or compounds is. So *aestimo, existimo*. Often the primitive is of the third conjugation or declension, and the derivative of the first or second, which are given first because of their greater regularity.

So *os, oro*. Sometimes a compound has come into English without change of form, whereas the simple word has not. So *paeninsula, insula*. Sometimes the compound presents grammatical irregularities, and the simple word does not. So *agricola*.

Now *Jones* has nothing on Latin word-formation save a few remarks on prefixes and their effect on the spelling of common roots. So *habeo, prohibeo*. Yet "esteem" and "estimate" are given with *existimo*, though both are from *aestimo*, which is not given at all. If only the compound is given in Latin, the English related word should not assume a knowledge of the simple verb.

Libero and "liberty" are given on p. 84; *libertas*, being of the third declension, is not given until p. 238; *libertas* does not come from *libero*, but both are first-degree derivatives from the same primitive *liber*, which is not given until much later. If the given Latin word *A* is itself a derivative, the English related word should not have as its original a Latin word *B* which is one of another series going back to the same primitive as *A*. For some primitives form several series: *liber, libertas*; *liber, liberalis, liberalitas*; *liber, libero, (liberatus), libertus, libertinus, libertinitas*, etc.

The principle just stated is especially pertinent when the two series derive from different meanings of the primitive, as in the following instance. On p. 121 we find *finitimus* with the related word "finite." Now *finitimus* is a first-degree derivative of *finis* in the meaning "boundary," whereas "finite" is a second-degree derivative (through the denominative verb *finio*) of *finis* in the meaning "end" or "limit." *Finis* itself is not given until p. 287 and neither there nor in the general vocabulary is there given any other meaning than "end."

Diligentia and "diligent" are given on p. 7; *diligens* is given on p. 351; *diligo* is not given at all. *Lego* is not given until p. 379 and there is no discussion of the prefix *dis-, di-* in the book. If the Latin word is of the *n*th degree, the English related word should not assume a knowledge of a Latin word of the degree *n-x*, that is, of a Latin word which is nearer the primitive. If the Latin word is *orator*, a derivative of the second degree, the English word should not be "oral," a first-degree derivative from *os, es-*

pecially since there is no classical word "*oralis*," and "oral" is a modern formation direct from the primitive.

Yet the related words that assume knowledge of words nearer the primitive than the given Latin word are relatively few. More often the related word does come from the Latin word and it is the intermediate steps which are omitted. On p. 2 of *Jones* are given *longa*, "longitude," and *pulchra*, "pulchritude." *Longitudo* is not given until later, and *pulchritudo* is not given at all. An intelligent pupil would be likely to wonder where all the extra letters come from, if *longitudo* comes from *longa*. The word *longitudo*, being of the third declension, cannot be set for study at that point. Perhaps, however, it is not desirable to postpone giving "longitude" until *longitudo* is reached. If not, *longitudo* and similar intermediate members of series might be given in an extra column without comment, or they might be supplied by the teacher. The important thing is that the pupil be left with an idea that the process of derivation is an orderly process. What, then, is better calculated to produce confusion than the linking of *amicitia* and "amity," which comes from a hypothetical "*amicitas*," on p. 121, more than 100 pages before third declension nouns in *-tas* are introduced?

Very often the omitted word is not a Latin word, but the French word intermediate between Latin and English. Sometimes the intermediate language is Spanish or Portuguese, as in the case of "albino." Again, there may be two intermediate languages, as in the case of "caress," which comes ultimately from *carus* through French, Italian, and Low Latin. Often a word underwent greater changes in passing from Latin to French than from French to English. In such cases a knowledge of the Old French or the Vulgar Latin form of the word throws much more light on its meaning in English than a knowledge of the classical Latin word from which it was ultimately derived.

Jones says nothing of when or how Latin words have come into English, whether with the Romans, the mediaeval Church, the Normans, the scholars of the Renaissance, or as purely modern coinages direct from Latin roots. It is often far less important to

know that one word has come from another than to know what has happened to it on the way. For the earlier the word came into English and the more languages it passed through on its journey, the less significant is its Latin origin. This dictum is especially true in the case of words formed in English from a Latin derivative which is so common that consciousness of its Latin origin is lost. So "movable" has a Latin root and a Latin suffix and yet for practical purposes it is purely English, since it is an English formation from "move." The parallel Latin derivative is "mobile," from *mobilis*.

It is also desirable that the pupil know something of the status of the particular Latin word from which a derivative comes. If he looks up the Latin words from which some of the derivatives in *Jones* have come, he will find a motley company, classical Latin words like *discipulus* and *sacramentum*, which have taken on a new color from Church Latin; technical words like *essentia* and *constellatio*; late and mediaeval Latin words like *patriota*, *deitas*, *hostilitas*, *audacitas*, *certitudo*, *rectitudo*, *cognoscentia*, *defenditor*, *integralis*, *partialis*, *putativus*, *decapitare*, *rectificare*, *glorificare*, *verificare*, *certificare*; and words which are strictly modern Latin, if they are Latin at all, *fortia*, *viaeductus*, *lenientia*, *suicidium*. The writer holds no brief against any Latin of any date, provided it be worth reading. For all that, were we teaching English to foreigners, we should hardly select our words at random from *Fables in Slang*, *Marius the Epicurean*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Faerie Queen*, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Suppose a pupil that thinks Latin is Latin irrespective of date has occasion to write the language. The mere thought induces a proleptic shudder.

Again, "Jones's" book is definitely constructed on the principle that the likenesses between English and Latin words should be stressed and the differences minimized. In his Introduction is the following statement: "Not only are more than half our English words derived from Latin, but many words are identical in both languages." The list which follows includes "tutor," "minor," "genus," "furor," "ulterior," "honor." Identical in spelling, yes; in pronunciation, no; in meaning, doubly no! Try inserting a few

of them in English contexts in lieu of the words which are more nearly equivalent to their Latin meanings: "signature of parent or *tutor*"; "a plaintive song in a *lesser* key"; "All that tread / The globe are but a handful to the *genera* / That slumber in its bosom"; "That way *furor* lies"; "on the *ulterior* side of Jordan"; "the insolence of *honor*."

Often a derivative of the Latin word is given as its English meaning, even though the English word is only one of the meanings of the Latin word and that not the primary or literal meaning. *Fama* does not always or even usually mean "fame." "Language" is not the primary meaning of *lingua*, but is given merely to pave the way for the related word "linguist." "Display" is not the root meaning of *ostendo*, but it prepares the way for the related word "ostentation." Yet on the same page we have "ostensible," which goes back to a more primitive meaning of *ostendo*. The meanings of *fructus* are given as "fruit" and "reward." This order implies that "reward" is a figurative and generalized meaning developed from "fruit," whereas *fructus* comes from *fruor* and the meaning "fruit" is itself the result of specialization.

More often Jones gives one of the derived meanings in the "English Meanings" column and then gives a related word which implies knowledge of a more literal or merely another meaning of the Latin word. So *magister*, "teacher," "magistrate"; *de*, "of," "about," "deviate," "deject"; *tabula*, "map," "table," whereas the primitive meaning is "plank"; *aequus*, "fair," "just," "equal," "equanimity," which go back to the literal meanings "equal," "level"; *eques*, *pedes*, "cavalryman," "infantryman," "equestrian," "pedestrian," which imply the literal meanings "rider" and "walker"; *provideo*, "foresee," "provide," the so-called related word being the more common meaning of the two. Such methods of treatment conceal from the pupil the fact that abstract meanings grow out of concrete and figurative out of literal in a more or less orderly and reasonable way. Worse yet, they consciously foster the idea that words which are spelled alike usually mean the same thing. Thing-words often do mean nearly the same thing, but thought-words and emotion-words rarely if ever mean the same,

and it is for them primarily and for the ideas they embody that we study a language like Latin at all. Anyone may see the obvious likeness. The educated man sees the significant difference. Translation by cognates is easier, but it is very seldom translation.

Finally, there are many derivatives which may properly be studied, if we frankly admit that our purpose is not to get at their meaning from their Latin originals, but to use them as examples of the ways in which word meanings change. English often has an Anglo-Saxon and a Latin derivative which originally meant nearly the same thing. Here division of labor, that is, specialization of meaning, has taken place. There are dozens of words in *Jones* which can be studied with profit only from this point of view. Such are: *nostrum*, *negro*, *memorial*, *medium*, *antique*, *discipline*, *fable*, *caress*, *oculist*, *linguistic*, *habit*, *annunciation*, *verb*, *factor*, *premium*, *sustenance*, *doctor*, *mission*, *militia*, and many others. Sometimes we meet generalization, as in the case of *virtus* and *constellatio*. Some words, like *fama* and *superbus*, have come up in the world; others, like "criticism" and "egregious," have gone down.

How much work of this sort should be done depends on the class, the teacher, and the schedule. The teacher should never forget, however, that he is teaching the pathology of language and the history of culture rather than a short way to acquire a vocabulary. In the words of H. W. Fowler ²—

Etymology is a study worth undertaking . . . as an end in itself rather than as a means to the acquiring either of a sound style or even a correct vocabulary. What concerns a writer is much less a word's history than its present meaning and idiomatic habits. The etymologist is aware, and the person who has paid no attention to the subject is probably unaware, that . . . *isle* and *island* have nothing in common. But to know when it is and when it is not well to call an island an *isle* is worth more than to know all these etymological facts.

Someone may be moved to ask whether there are any derivatives that should be taught to young pupils. There are a great many such, but some care must be used in their selection and pre-

² Cf. *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1927), 664.

sentation. We no longer introduce the pupil to complicated syntax in the first few weeks of Latin study. Why, then, do we choose that very time to fling at his head the sciences of phonetics and semasiology confined in strange derivatives like *genii* in bottles? Not every derivative given need be explained in scientific terms. But it should be susceptible of such explanation, and the teacher should be capable of giving it.

The study of derivatives may be more profitable than the study of formal grammar, though the present writer is not prepared to admit it. Both are valuable when well taught to reasonably intelligent pupils. Both are a waste of time when ill taught to the other kind of pupils. In any case a book such as "Jones" has written is not likely to make the task easier. Etymology is as difficult and complicated as syntax, and a casual attitude toward it will produce casual results. We have heard much of the dry husks of grammar. Let us take heed lest the husks of etymology prove no less dry.

TIBERIUS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY EMPIRE

By FRANK BURR MARSH
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That Tacitus was strongly prejudiced against Tiberius and often misrepresented him is now admitted, but the explanations of the historian's bias leave something to be desired. The most reasonable is the suggestion of Boissier that he simply reproduced the traditional picture of the emperor which was current in the higher circles of Roman society.¹ Unfortunately the proofs offered by Boissier that there was such a tradition are somewhat unsatisfactory, and it seems to me that additional evidence, hitherto overlooked, is at hand in the pages of Tacitus himself. My present purpose is, first to call attention to this evidence, and then to offer some suggestions in explanation of the origin of the tradition.

In the first books of the *Annals* there are many passages which foreshadow coming events, and in a number of cases the anticipations so raised are not borne out by the later narrative. A striking instance is to be found in the first book. At the accession of Tiberius several persons offended him, and in this connection Tacitus informs us that in the last days of his life Augustus discussed with Tiberius some possible pretenders to the crown, describing "Ma-nius Lepidus as capable, but indifferent; Asinius Gallus as ambitious, but unfit; and L. Arruntius as not unworthy and bold enough to try for it if an occasion offered." Tacitus adds that some substituted the name of Cn. Piso for that of Arruntius and closes by saying, "all of them, except Lepidus, were afterwards destroyed on charges trumped up by Tiberius."² Now this last state-

¹ G. Boissier, *Tacite*⁴: Paris, Hachette et Cie. (1912), 114-27.

² *Ann.*, I, 13. I think that in this passage *mox* has clearly the sense of "afterwards" rather than its usual meaning. It is sometimes so used by Tacitus.

ment is false, and the admirers of Tacitus have been hard put to it to defend him. It is so clear that the emperor did not trump up the charges against Piso that Nipperdey sought to save the day by contending that the reference to Piso is parenthetical and that the statement only applies to Gallus and Arruntius.³ This interpretation forces him to construe *omnes* as "both" rather than "all" and it does little good since, as Tacitus later makes Arruntius the victim not of Tiberius but of Macro, it merely reduces the percentage of falsehood from two-thirds to one-half.⁴ Fabia, following Nipperdey as to the meaning of *omnes*, sought to improve the defence by suggesting that when Tacitus came to narrate the death of Arruntius in Book VI he was better informed than when he referred to it in Book I.⁵ Fabia did not follow out his suggestion or apply it elsewhere, perhaps because to do so would have been damaging to his theories and would have compelled him to admit a much more extensive comparison of authorities on the part of Tacitus than he is willing to concede. Before seeing his suggestion I had arrived at certain conclusions to which his passing remark furnishes a good introduction. If Tacitus was better informed later than at first, a simple explanation is ready to hand. Roman histories were commonly written in the form of annals and we have only to suppose that Tacitus, unlike a modern historian, instead of beginning with a careful study of the entire period which he proposed to treat, made a comparison of his various sources for the two or three years covered by one book and wrote as soon as this comparison was finished. Concerning the events which lay beyond the scope of the book on which he was at work he had only such general information as was common among the cultivated Romans of his day. Thus when he wrote the first book he had the impression that all three of the men in question were victims of the machinations of Tiberius, but when he came to examine his sources carefully as to their several fates he gave up

³ See his note on this passage.

⁴ This is pointed out in his notes by H. Furneaux, *The Annals of Tacitus*²: Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1896.

⁵ Ph. Fabia, "L'avènement officiel de Tibère. Examen du récit de Tacite, *Ann.*, I, 11-15," *Rev. de Phil.* xxxiii (1909), 42 f.

this idea as to two of them at least.⁶ By that time, however, he had probably already published his first book, or, if not, had forgotten this particular passage and so could not, or did not, correct it.

This conjecture is strengthened when we learn from Tacitus himself that in his youth he had heard from old men who had been alive at the time of the trial of Piso a story which represented that governor's fate as due to the machinations of Tiberius and Sejanus. When Tacitus came to examine his sources carefully he abandoned any real belief in this story; but when he wrote the first book of the *Annals*, he may very well have credited it. Gallus is made a victim of Tiberius by Dio;⁷ and if Tacitus had seen Arruntius mentioned in the same way, his statement would represent the impression made on him by the prevalent tradition and by such special information as had come to his ears before an examination of his sources had revealed the facts.

Another point in favor of this hypothesis is found in the same chapter of the first book. We are told that Scaurus aroused the implacable anger of Tiberius from which we naturally expect that the vindictive emperor will destroy Scaurus as well as the three possible pretenders whom Tacitus has just mentioned. When, however, we come to the account of the death of Scaurus in Book VI we find that it was not the implacable anger of Tiberius, but the hatred of Macro, which was the cause of his death. If we turn to Dio we discover no mention of Macro and the whole responsibility is attributed to the emperor.⁸ If, before writing his first book, Tacitus had read the work from which Dio took his account and only compared it with other sources when he came to Book VI, we have a simple explanation of the matter.

One more instance must be examined briefly since it is far more significant than those just noted. In the first book Tacitus somewhat inaccurately tells us that the law of treason under the Republic applied only to acts, while speech was free; but that Augustus

⁶ Owing to the loss of the fifth book of the *Annals* we do not know his later opinion as to the arrest of Asinius Gallus.

⁷ Dio LVIII, 3.

⁸ Dio LVIII, 24.

tus extended it to include words and banished Cassius Severus for slandering illustrious men and women; moreover, that when Tiberius came to the throne he revived the law, being angry at the anonymous libels against his mother and himself then in circulation.⁹ The historian discusses the cases of two knights, explaining that he mentions them to show "from what beginnings this most formidable scourge arose, and, how, restrained for a time, it finally blazed forth as an all-devouring conflagration."¹⁰ It is not quite clear whether the scourge is the law of treason or delation, but the two were probably inseparable in the mind of Tacitus. There can be no doubt that in this passage the historian is thinking of the Tiberian Terror in the last years of the reign and the facts, as far as we can discover them, are in conflict with his statements in nearly every particular. The motive given for the so-called revival of the law can not be accepted, since for many years Tiberius refused to use it to protect either his mother or himself;¹¹ Tiberius did not foster delation; on the contrary he punished informers down to the last years of his life;¹² he did not extend the law of treason, but steadily opposed its extension and dismissed frivolous charges again and again.¹³ It is true that Tacitus gives the impression that a few persons were condemned on trivial grounds, but in the only case where we can check his account, that of Libo Drusus, we discover that the charges, at least, were really serious. Those instances where we have no check are too few to outweigh the other evidence. If we examine the sixth book of the *Annals* carefully, the Tiberian Terror turns out to be largely mythical. Yet Tacitus clings to it tenaciously since it was a vital point in his whole conception of Tiberius. Where the facts do not bear him out he dresses them up in rhetoric and forces them to give an impression of horror and so support his

⁹ *Ann.*, I, 72.

¹⁰ *Ann.*, I, 73.

¹¹ The only instance in which anyone was actually punished for slandering Tiberius occurred in A.D. 25 (*Ann.*, IV, 42). As one of the witnesses was a soldier the charge was probably not simple slander but seditious libel.

¹² Three were banished in A.D. 34 (*Ann.*, VI, 30).

¹³ See Supplementary Note.

fixed idea of the Terror. This he does throughout the sixth book and a single example of his method will suffice. In A.D. 35 he could find only three suicides and two executions.¹⁴ Of two of the victims Tacitus has elsewhere expressed a very unfavorable opinion¹⁵ and he could not venture to assert specifically that any of the five were innocent or that any of them suffered on frivolous charges. This showing is not a promising outlook for a reign of terror, but skilful rhetoric can create singular illusions. At the start Tacitus puts us in the proper mood by saying that he has combined the events of two eastern campaigns in the preceding chapters in order to give the reader's mind some relief from the story of domestic evils and that, altho three years had passed since the death of Sejanus, neither time nor blood nor prayers could soften Tiberius, who continued to punish old and uncertain offenses as though they were recent and extremely serious. Then the five cases are narrated very briefly. The brevity of the narrative, however, deprives it of much of its effect and Tacitus makes up for this by informing us at the close that, when these deaths took place, Tiberius was very near Rome so that he could almost see the blood flowing in the houses or at the hand of the executioner. The rhetorical setting is here obvious. We are first led to expect horror, then hurried past the facts so rapidly that we have no time to think, and finally we are given a lurid picture which leaves us with the impression that we have read something very horrible indeed. But if we consider the matter we note that two of the victims can claim no tears and that Tacitus has failed to say that the other three did not deserve their fate. The geographical location of Tiberius is utterly irrelevant, and a really cruel man would have wished to *see* the blood and would not have been content with *almost* seeing it.

Closely examined, the Tiberian Terror shrinks greatly. After the fall of Sejanus a number of persons, supposedly implicated in his plots, were brought to trial. Some of them were put to death, others were acquitted, and several delators who sought to take

¹⁴ *Ann.*, vi, 38 f.

¹⁵ Fulcinus Trio (*Ann.*, ii, 28) and Sextius Paconianus (*Ann.*, vi, 3).

advantage of the occasion by bringing false charges were punished. A ferocious tyrant wallowing in blood for five or six years is the product of rhetoric contradicted at every turn by the recorded evidence.¹⁸

These discrepancies between the earlier and the later books dealing with Tiberius can only be explained in one of two ways, since the picture of the emperor constantly suggested in the first books can not have been drawn from the events narrated in the last. The exact opposite is true, for it is clear that the portrait in the mind of the historian at the start is maintained to the end regardless of the evidence, or the lack of it, and that in the later books a preconceived idea is imposed on obviously recalcitrant material. Now either Tacitus was a consciously mendacious rhetorician, who set out deliberately to blacken the reputation of Tiberius, or else he began under the influence of a traditional conception of the character of that emperor and was unable to shake it off. For me it is difficult, if not impossible, to accept the idea of conscious misrepresentation because the historian has recorded too many unnecessary facts inconsistent with his theory. An intentional liar would have taken more care to smooth things over and would not have left so many loose ends. Why, for example, unless Tacitus was honest, should he tell us that Scaurus was a victim of Macro when, by simply omitting this statement, he could have made his story serve his purpose better and agree with his earlier references? The only solution seems to me to be that, when he began the *Annals*, Tacitus accepted a Tiberian myth current among the Roman aristocracy. His anticipations in the first books were written in good faith but in ignorance of the facts. As he progressed with his story a better knowledge did not convince him that he was wrong because the hold of the tradition on his mind was too strong. Instead of altering his portrait to suit the facts, he unconsciously colored the facts to fit the portrait. When he had to determine a plain issue as to the truth about some definite event, the

¹⁸ I do not mean to question the existence of something like panic among the nobles. Many must have realized that they had been so involved in the intrigues of Sejanus that appearances were dangerously against them, however innocent they might be of any actual crime.

historian was scrupulously honest; but when it came to interpreting an event or placing it in its proper setting, his vivid imagination seized control, and he saw all things in a distorted light. In brief the first books seem to me to furnish strong evidence of a Tiberian tradition and the last to prove that this tradition was largely false.

Even at the risk of some repetition it may be well to attempt to indicate some of the causes for the dominant hold of the tradition on Tacitus. We know little of his life, but some facts suggest that he grew up in a circle more than usually prejudiced against the memory of Tiberius. At any rate he was a pupil of Julius Secundus, who wrote a life of the famous orator Julius Africanus, the son of one of the victims (?) of Tiberius. It seems likely enough that Secundus was not only the biographer but also the pupil and friend of Africanus. Moreover the younger Pliny, who was brought up by the elder, was an intimate friend of Tacitus, and the elder Pliny received part of his education in the house of Pomponius Secundus, whose life he wrote. Now Pomponius was himself imprisoned on suspicion during the last years of Tiberius and was married to Vistilia, the daughter of another sufferer under that emperor.¹⁷ Thus Tacitus in his youth probably conceived an exceptionally unfavorable idea of Tiberius, and later he found that the picture which he had formed was generally accepted, at least in its main outlines, by the aristocratic society in which he lived. When he came to write the *Annals* the narrative sources upon which he drew were probably all more or less hostile to the emperor. It was the misfortune, if not the fault, of Tiberius that in his last years he was almost completely isolated. He had offended one section of the nobility by advancing Sejanus and another by overthrowing him. There was no group which felt any interest in defending his memory, and there were many who had strong motives for assailing it so as to excuse friends and relatives who had suffered under him. Moreover, the bitter experiences of Tacitus during the reign of Domitian made it easy for him to

¹⁷ Authorities for these details will be found in E. Klebs, H. Dessau, P. de Rohden, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*: Berlin, George Reimer (3 vols., 1897-98).

misinterpret many transactions of the past. Thus the hatred which he felt for informers was probably due to what he had seen of them in the last years of the Flavian régime rather than to a calm consideration of their deeds in the earlier period; and as Domitian had instigated many of the charges which they brought, he assumed that Tiberius had done the same. It is also probable that his knowledge of how the senate had cringed in his own time led him to exaggerate its earlier servility. Last of all, Tacitus had a strong interest in morbid psychology and a decided talent for depicting it.¹⁸ As a writer he thus found the traditional portrait of Tiberius admirably adapted to his literary powers. When these influences are taken into account, it is not hard to see why the evidence failed to convince him, since he could not approach it with an open mind, and how, holding firmly to his original conception of the emperor's character and tyranny, he more or less unconsciously presented the facts so as to make them convey to the reader the picture so vividly present in his own mind.

But if the traditional picture of Tiberius that lived in the minds of the Roman aristocracy in the reign of Trajan was false, we have to account for its origin. It seems to me to have been due largely to the peculiar position of Tiberius in the development of the early Empire. We need constantly to remember the simple fact that Tiberius succeeded Augustus and was followed by Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and then, after a brief interval, by Domitian. His reign seemed therefore to mark a turning-point for the worse. How the principate of Augustus appeared in later Roman eyes we may learn from Dio, who tells us that the Romans mourned for Augustus among other reasons because "joining monarchy and democracy, he guarded their freedom while preserving order and security, so that, being free from the license of democracy and the arrogance of despotism, they lived in sober liberty under a monarchy without terror, subjects of a king but not slaves, and citizens of a democracy without dissensions."¹⁹

¹⁸ I am indebted for this point to the comments of Professor Westermann when the substance of this paper was read at the last meeting of the American Historical Association.

¹⁹ Dio LVI, 43.

Tacitus has reported some gossip adverse to the character of Augustus, but he has nowhere represented him as a bad ruler. To the Roman as to the Greek historian we may conclude that it appeared that the Empire began as a good government wherein a large measure of liberty was successfully combined with order and efficiency. Under Augustus we may describe it as a mild and constitutional monarchy. Under Tiberius, however, the system of Augustus broke down, delation became prominent, the law of treason was turned against the nobles, the senate became servile, and the ruin of the House of Germanicus, followed by that of Sejanus, supplied an atmosphere of tragedy. Here was a sharp and obvious contrast, and it was natural to throw the blame upon Tiberius whether he deserved it or not. The Roman historians, who were either nobles or wrote for the nobility, had little insight into political, social, or economic causes and explained events largely by the personalities of the chief actors. They saw in the fall of the Republic only the ambition of Caesar, and from this point of view the emperor under whom delation first became prominent was certain to be branded as a tyrant. Senators who had lived through the reign of Domitian could not but infer a veritable terror whenever delators became active. They viewed the events of the past in the light of their own experience and thus saw in Tiberius the man who had changed the mild and liberal principate of Augustus into a cruel and suspicious autocracy. There was some truth in this opinion, since, if he was not a tyrant himself, Tiberius did in a measure pave the way for tyranny. For such a development he was not entirely to blame, but we could hardly expect the Roman aristocracy to have sufficient detachment to confess their share of the responsibility. It was only human to attribute the whole guilt to the emperor and to regard themselves as innocent victims. The tragedy of the House of Germanicus and the misplaced confidence of the emperor in Sejanus made it comparatively easy to picture him as a cruel and hypocritical monarch, and this was one source from which the tradition was derived.

It is true that the constitutional principate of Augustus broke

down under Tiberius and the government became more autocratic, but it was not the fault of the emperor. He tried vainly to maintain the system of his predecessor; and if it broke down, the chief responsibility was certainly not his. In reality the change which took place was mainly psychological. The *princeps* had always been potentially an absolute monarch, and even in the lifetime of Augustus the republican forms which he so carefully preserved had become little more than empty shams. It does not follow, however, that they were immediately felt as such. In the last years of Augustus' life his venerable age, his tact and suavity, his great services, his long and prosperous reign, all combined to invest him with something of the divinity which was conferred upon him after his death. To such a prince it was easy for the proudest noble to yield without a sense of humiliation. But no successor could really inherit his exceptional position; and when the senators abased themselves before Tiberius, they could no longer disguise their servility even from themselves. They had, however, no choice. The emperor held the patronage of the Empire in his hands, and the nobles were covetous of office and of honor. The yoke which had seemed light under Augustus was bound to become galling under any other prince, and the emperor under whom its weight was first seriously felt was certain to be blamed as though he had invented it and imposed it on men's necks.

In another way the position of Tiberius was extremely difficult. He was not exactly emperor but rather a sort of emperor regent, pledged to hand on the crown not to his own son, Drusus, but to his nephew, Germanicus. However honest his intentions may have been, men found it impossible to believe that he would adhere to this arrangement, and his court was soon divided into rival parties, one supporting Germanicus and the other hoping to secure the succession for Drusus. Even when both were dead, the rivalry continued between the House of Germanicus and that of Drusus with the powerful backing of Sejanus, whose aims at first were clearly directed at becoming emperor regent in favor of the young son of Drusus. Throughout the reign of Tiberius, therefore, there was a continuous struggle over the succession, and this

fact made his position one of real peril. Augustus could safely ignore petty intrigues of the nobles, which were not seriously directed against him; but Tiberius, knowing that a large party wished him out of the way so that their candidate might succeed, dared not refuse to listen to delators who could produce serious evidence of plots. He tried to restrain abuses, and he refused to allow men to suffer on frivolous accusations, but he was unable to abolish delation, and he was forced to make one vital change in its character. As far as we know, Augustus had used the law of treason only to protect the good name of eminent men and women from slanderers of lower rank. Tiberius was forced to turn the law against the aristocracy itself because it was among the nobles that conspiracies were likely to be hatched. This action the Roman aristocracy neither forgot nor forgave. The more they suffered under later emperors, the more they loathed Tiberius, who seemed to them the inventor of the system which had become in other hands so formidable an engine of oppression.

Supplementary Note on Frivolous Charges under Tiberius

A reading of the *Annals* gives the impression that some ten persons suffered under Tiberius on frivolous grounds. They were: Libo Drusus (II, 27-32) in A.D. 16; Clutorius Priscus (III, 49-51) in A.D. 21; Cremutius Cordus (IV, 34-35) in A.D. 25; Calpurnius Salvianus (IV, 36) also in A.D. 25; Pomponius Secundus (v. 8) in A.D. 31; Junius Gallio (VI, 3) in A.D. 32; Vitia (VI, 10) also in A.D. 32; Pompeia Macrina with her father and brother (VI, 18) in A.D. 33.

We may omit Clutorius Priscus since he was put to death by the senate when Tiberius was absent from Rome and the emperor clearly disapproved of the senate's action. Of the other nine we can check only the case of Libo Drusus in any satisfactory way. Tacitus implies that the charges against Libo were altogether silly, but we happen to know from an inscription that they were really of a very serious character.²⁰ We can explain this discrepancy by

²⁰ The *Fasti Amiternini* under the date of September 13 give the substance of the decree of the senate making the day of his death a holiday. The *Fasti* are published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*² 1, 244.

comparing the account of the trial of Piso given by Tacitus, which is the fullest we have, with that of Libo. In the case of Piso the prosecution began with irrelevant accusations intended to create a prejudice against the defendant and only took up the serious part of the indictment later. It seems clear that in the case of Libo the same procedure was followed, but he committed suicide before most of the evidence of his real offense was reached. The trial in this instance was continued, which does not seem to have been the common practice. Tacitus, however, has ignored all charges and all testimony brought forward after Libo's death. Evidently the historian regarded as unworthy of attention all evidence produced when the accused had no chance to answer it.²¹ It is, therefore, evident that we can draw no safe conclusion in any case where the accused committed suicide unless we have reason to think that the trial was well under way when he did so (and such reason is lacking in every instance except that of Piso), since we must suspect that other and more serious matters were involved than those mentioned by Tacitus. This consideration at once reduces the list of victims by eliminating Cremutius Cordus,²² Pompeius Macer, and his son. Of those that remain only Vitia was put to death, and her case is far from clear. Tacitus says that she was executed by the senate, or after a trial in the senate (the Latin will bear either construction), for bewailing the death of her son, Fufius Geminus. It is not certain that Tiberius had anything to do with the matter, for the senate may have acted in this case as it did in that of Clutorius Priscus. It is quite possible that her grief took the form of violent denunciations of Tiberius which were believed to have a seditious purpose, and it is also possible that Tacitus gave what he thought was the reason for the prosecution rather than the actual charge brought against her.²³ Her daughter-in-law was involved in the intrigues of Se-

²¹ The subject is more fully discussed in my article on "Tacitus and Aristocratic Tradition," *Class. Phil.* xxi (1926), 289-310.

²² It is somewhat strange that Seneca (*Consol. ad Marciam*, 22) gives a quite different reason for the prosecution from that mentioned by Tacitus.

²³ See the case of Mamercus Scaurus (*Ann.*, vi, 29), where Tacitus gives first what he regards as the reasons for the prosecution and then adds the actual charges as a sort of afterthought.

janus (*Ann.*, iv, 12) and committed suicide under some charge (Dio LVIII, 4), and this fact makes it seem likely that Vitia was concerned in these same intrigues. Of the rest Pomponius Secundus was imprisoned in his house for a number of years but was never brought to trial. Tacitus says that Pomponius owed his life to his brother, an expression which may apply only to the moment of his accusation or may mean that it was his brother who succeeded in postponing his trial, as is rather suggested by another passage (*Ann.*, vi, 18). Pompeia Macrina was banished; but as her husband and father-in-law had already been punished for some unknown offense, we can not be sure that the frivolous charge mentioned by Tacitus was the only one against her or the members of her family who committed suicide. The two remaining sufferers, Calpurnius Salvianus and Junius Gallio, were banished for apparently trivial acts to which political importance was attributed. Tacitus shows little sympathy with either; and as Calpurnius seems to have been an overzealous delator, he probably deserves none.

Taking the evidence as a whole, we have no adequate grounds for concluding that Tiberius permitted any extension of the law of treason. Against one or two instances where our meager information makes it seem that he allowed or caused punishment to be inflicted for trivial offenses we must set his conduct in a larger number of cases where he interfered to prevent such a result. At the beginning of his reign he dismissed the frivolous charges against Falanius and Rubrius (*Ann.*, i, 73); in A.D. 22 those against Ennius (*Ann.*, iii, 70); in A.D. 32 those against Cotta Messalinus (*Ann.*, vi, 5-7); and in A.D. 34 that against Lentulus Gaetulicus (*Ann.*, vi, 30).²⁴ In the last two cases not only were the charges dismissed but the delators were punished as well. Moreover, the acquittals by the senate of M. Terentius, Appius Silanus, and Calvisius Sabinus (*Ann.*, vi, 9) in A.D. 32 are entirely

²⁴ The explanation given by Tacitus on the strength of popular rumor as to why the charge against Lentulus Gaetulicus was dropped seems hardly to furnish an adequate reason for the banishment of the accuser. We can not avoid a suspicion that the offense of the delator was the threat to bring a frivolous charge.

out of harmony with the Tacitean picture. The action of the senate and the quiet acceptance of that action by Tiberius seem clearly to show that the conscript fathers occasionally dared to act with independence, a supposition which makes it probable that there was some serious evidence when they gave a verdict of guilty, and that Tiberius had no desire to shed the blood of the innocent. The fact that men were acquitted in the midst of the Terror is thus an additional reason for refusing to see a victim of tyranny in every man who preferred suicide to a public trial and for suspecting that in such cases there was more behind than the charges which appear upon the record.

VERGIL'S MOTIVATION OF THE *AENEID*¹

By FRANK J. MILLER

Of this story of the wanderings of Aeneas from Troy to his promised land, so far as the miraculous elements are concerned, Livy was frankly sceptical; to it Ovid was indifferent, seeing in it nothing save a means to his own ends,² a story which, to tell the truth, is not particularly thrilling as a story.

And what did Vergil see in it? Why did he see else in it than all earlier tellers seem to have seen? We must believe that it was chiefly because he was Vergil, half prophet, all poet, a dreamer of dreams and a seer of visions, a man who saw, as his great friend, the emperor, saw, that the nation's wounds of civil strife and moral degeneration could not be healed, that lasting peace could never come, until the nation's heart had been touched by a new patriotism, that is, turned back to their old patriotism, through an awakened memory of their glorious past, through a renewed assurance of a more glorious future.

Vergil took the story of Aeneas, which no one before him seems to have found particularly thrilling or inspiring, and felt the thrill, the inspiration; saw the possibilities in it for the fulfillment of his purpose. And he tells *this* story and no other, the story of Aeneas and his wanderings, rarely if ever turning aside to relate anything which was not in some way pertinent to his central theme.

And what was Vergil's purpose? That his mind had been dwelling upon a great heroic poem long before he actually undertook this one, is clear from two passages in his earlier works. His earli-

¹ This is the second half of the president's address read at the Classical Association's annual meeting at Urbana, Illinois, April 2, 1926, under the title "Ovid's *Aeneid* and Vergil's: A Contrast in Motivation." The first half was published in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXIII (1927), 33-43.

² Amplified in Part I of this paper; see last note.

est reference to this desire will be found in the opening lines of the sixth *Eclogue*:

When I was planning to sing of kings and battles, Cynthian Apollo touched my ear and recalled me to my task. "A shepherd's business, Tityrus, is to feed his sheep to fatness and sing thin songs of them." — *Ecl.* VI, 1-5.³

This dream of "kings and battles" had taken more definite shape and purpose while he was writing the *Georgics*. At that period, however, he seems to have gone no further than to plan to sing the praises of his great patron, Augustus Caesar:

But ere long I will gird myself to sing of those fiery flights of Caesar and waft his name in glory down a length of centuries, long as those which separate the cradle of Tithonus from Caesar's self. — III, 46-48.

But when he was finally ready for this great task, a far larger field had opened to him, and a nobler purpose than merely to sing of the "fiery flights of Caesar" had developed in him. While he does not state this purpose as distinctly as does Milton, it is still clearly manifest in his opening lines. If he does not attempt to "justify the ways of God to men," he does propose to unfold those divine plans by which a mighty nation was to be established in the world and to show what the great, foreordained mission of that nation was. As the history of Israel is comprehended in (1) a chosen people, (2) a promised land, (3) a divine guidance to this land and divine assistance in its conquest, (4) God's promise that this people should develop into a mighty nation with a great and inspiring mission, (5) a nation through whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed, so it was to be with that people of whose glorious destiny Vergil essays to sing. This parallel will be more clearly seen if we read *fatum*, a word so often on Vergil's pen, as Divine Providence, the will of that ultimate Being whom the ancients, even with their belief in multitudinous gods, recognized as behind and above them all, whose will some of the gods might know and reveal but never change or permanently thwart. With this understanding, we can more clearly see

³ The translations in this paper are taken largely from the prose version by John Conington.

in the opening lines of the *Aeneid* a statement in epitome of the great theme which is more fully developed as the poem unfolds the story. Here then, somewhat freely rendered, is the theme (I, 1-8) :

I sing the heroic deeds of him who, driven forth from Troy by the Providence of God, came to Italy and the Lavinian shores. But this was not without many buffetings on land and sea and much suffering in war because of Juno's wrath, the great opposer of his destiny — all because he was trying to found a city and bring the Trojan gods to Latium. 'Twas from this settlement there sprung the Latin race and at last — Rome.

The poet, then, would sing of a divinely chosen man, who, forced by seemingly disastrous circumstances to leave his home, seeks out his promised land with the help of Providence, conquers that land, and lays the foundation of the Roman state.

Let us now follow the development of this theme. In sharp opposition to the divine plans for Rome is the will of Juno who represents throughout the *Aeneid* the power that makes against the will of Providence for his chosen people. So the great struggle of Rome against her most dangerous foe is thus early foreshadowed. We read (I, 19-22) :

The cause of Juno's unending opposition was jealousy for her own favorite nation, Carthage, for she had heard that from these Trojan exiles was to spring a nation which should one day completely overthrow the Tyrian city, a nation which should be proud and warlike, of *wide-extending power*; and this people was destined for the overthrow of Africa — a destiny which could not be turned aside, for it was fore-ordained.

In this passage a new note is struck: not only is Rome to be established in Italy, but she is from that point to be a nation of "wide-extending power."

A great cause must have a great leader. And while Aeneas is always to Vergil the perfect hero and shines as the patiently all-enduring one, the matchless warrior, the merciful conqueror, the wise and fatherly ruler, his greatest rôle is that in which the poet first introduces him: the man of faith, who believes implicitly in his destiny, who constantly seeks and expects divine guidance in its fulfillment. His first appearance to us is in the raging storm at

sea where, indeed, his courage is sorely tested and he wishes that he might have died in battle rather than perish thus ingloriously; but a little later, when his hopes of further progress are seemingly at an end, with half his fleet swallowed by the waves — as he supposes — and the rest wrecked on a desert or savage shore, he still can utter these brave words (I, 198-207):

O my friends, ye who have suffered worse things than these with me, God will give an end to these things also. Be of good courage and dismiss your gloomy fears. Perhaps some time you will be glad to remember even these misfortunes. Through disasters of every sort, through so many crises of affairs, we hold our course to Latium, where God has promised us a peaceful home; there 'tis the will of God that Troy should rise again. Be strong, therefore, and live in prospect of those happier times.

Here is a character who can compare with an Abraham or a Moses for his calm faith in the promises of God. This guidance, beginning faint and dimly understood but increasing in definiteness and clearness as Aeneas fares on his way, will be traced later in the second, third, and fourth books, which chronologically precede the first. Meanwhile we have two passages early in the first book (229-37 and 257-96) reporting an interview between Venus and Jupiter in which we, though not as yet Aeneas, have fuller assurance of the world-wide sway which Rome is destined to achieve. Venus, in distress for the present situation, cries (I, 229-37):

Oh thou who rulest the affairs of men and gods by thine eternal sway, what sin so great can my Aeneas have committed against thee, what have the Trojans done, that after so much suffering and death, the whole world should be closed against them because of Italy? Thou didst promise that of a surety from these Trojans, from the blood of Teucer, in the long lapse of years, *should come the Romans, leaders of men, who should hold the land and sea in universal sway.* Having so promised, why hast thou changed thy purpose?

And Jupiter answers her with assurance (I, 257 ff.):

Fear not, O lady of Cythera, the will of Providence remains unchanged as concerns thy friends: thou *shalt* behold the promised city and Lavinium's walls; thou *shalt* bear up to the stars of heaven great-souled Aeneas. . . . *For these (Romans) I set no limit to their power either in space or*

time. I have given them sovereignty without end. . . . Caesar shall be born of fair Trojan stock, who shall measure his sway only by the ocean, his glory by the stars.

The remainder of the first book describes the plots and counterplots between the rivals, Venus and Juno, as a result of which Aeneas is temporarily turned aside from his heaven-ordained path.

In the second book we have the logical beginning of the story and discover the very first point at which Aeneas becomes conscious of his divine mission. This moment has its parallel in Jewish history in the mysterious "call" of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees. While all Troy sleeps in drunken and joyous security, Aeneas in his own slumbers beholds the shade of Hector, who thus addresses him (II, 288-97):

"Alas, O Venus' son, make speed and save thee from the flames. Our foemen hold the walls, and Troy is crashing down from her proud eminence. Enough has been done for fatherland and king. If Pergama could have been saved by any hand, she would have been saved by mine. Troy commends to thee her sacred objects and her gods. Here, take them as the comrades of thy destiny; *seek walls for them, great walls, which thou shalt at last establish after all thy wanderings o'er the sea.*" So saying he brought out of the inner shrine the holy fillets, Vesta's image, and her never dying fire.

But Aeneas has scant time to meditate upon this remoter task of city- and nation-building. His first instinct is to defend his present city. He little realizes against what powers he strives, until, after he has done his bravest, Venus reveals to him that it is really the gods who are destroying Troy (II, 601-23):

"It is not Spartan Helen thou must hate or Paris thou must blame. *'Tis the gods' wrath, the gods' I say, that has overthrown the rich town of Troy and hurled her from her lofty pinnacle.* Behold — for I will lift the veil that clouds thy mortal vision — here where thou seest great masses heaved apart and rocks torn from rocks and smoke and dust rising in a mingled cloud, Neptune with his huge trident is shaking the walls to their foundations and upheaving the whole city from her seat; here Juno holds the Scaean gates and fiercely summons the allied army from the ships, with her sword girt about her. And there — look back — Tritonian Pallas is seated in the citadel, gleaming and deadly with her Gorgon head. The Father himself supplies the Greeks with strength and

courage, he himself urges on the gods against the Dardan arms. Then speed thy flight, my son, and end thy toil. I'll keep near thy side and bring thee in safety to thy father's house." She spoke and vanished in the thick shades of night. Then there appeared through the gloom the grim faces of the gods and the great deities who were making for the overthrow of Troy.

So then it is the gods themselves and not the Greeks who are ordering the events of this dire night.

Stunned by this sight and realizing that Troy's fate is sealed, Aeneas would leave his doomed city and save himself and his by flight; and from here on the gods direct him. The portent of the harmless flame on Ascanius' head, a portent ratified by thunder on the left, overcame Anchises' determination to remain and die; while the star, shooting across the sky and disappearing beyond Ida Mount, may be counted as the first faint supernatural indication as to the direction of his flight. We shall see that from this first stage of his long journey to the last, no step was taken without divine guidance more or less clearly seen. We have again the Children of Israel with their pillar of fire by night and of cloud by day.

And now ensues that pathetic, groping quest for the promised land, like that of the wandering Hebrews in the wilderness. The indications of the direction have been as yet but very faint. Hector's ghost had said that it must be sought by wandering upon the sea. Accordingly a fleet is built of the pines of Ida, and the little band of exiles set out upon their quest. Warned from the Thracian coast (where they had actually planned to build a city) by the portent of the bleeding bough and the voice of the murdered Polydorus, they go to Delos to seek direction from the oracle. Aeneas' prayer to the god of prophecy shows his present state of helplessness and bewilderment (III, 85-89):

O thou Thymbraean god, grant us our proper home; grant to us weary wanderers walls and a race and a city that shall endure. In us save the second citadel of Troy, the leavings of the Greeks and pitiless Achilles. Whom do we follow? Whither dost thou bid us go? In what land settle? Grant us an omen, father, and let thine informing spirit come stealing on our hearts.

The oracle gives them a direction in the usual blind way of oracles, at the same time making promise of unending, world-wide sway — the first such promise that Aeneas has received (III, 94-98):

O hardy sons of Dardanus, the land which first produced you from the parent stock, the same land shall receive you back again in her fertile breast. *Seek out your ancient mother-land. There shall Aeneas' house lord it o'er all the world, they and their sons' sons and those who shall come after them.*

Anchises, from his antiquarian lore, interprets this "mother-land" as Crete, the home of Teucer; though, had he noticed that the oracle had called Aeneas' band "Dardanidae," much wandering and perplexity might have been spared. Arrived in Crete, they joyfully set about building their city, planting their fields, and establishing new home ties; but they are again warned away by a wasting pestilence which they rightly interpret as sent by divine providence. On the eve of sending back to Delos for further guidance, Aeneas receives the desired direction through a vision of the night (III, 147-71):

'Twas night, and slumber bound all living creatures on the earth. Then did the sacred images of the gods and the Phrygian penates, which I had brought with me from Troy, from the midst of the burning city's flames, seem to stand before my eyes as I lay in slumber, quite plainly visible in the clear light which the full moon poured through the windows. And they said: "What Apollo would say to thee, shouldst thou sail back to Delos, he tells thee here and sends us to thee ere thou seekest it. We have followed thee and thy fortunes from burning Dardania, traversing in thy fleet with thee the swelling seas; *and we will raise thy children after thee up to the stars, and give imperial sway unto thy city. Do thou build mighty walls to fit thy mighty destiny.* And seek not to escape the tedious toil of flight. This place thou must abandon, for Delian Apollo did not mean this land for thee nor bid thee settle here in Crete. There is a place which the Greeks have named Hesperia, an ancient land, strong in arms and rich in fertile soil. Oenotrians were its settlers, but tradition has it that men in later times have named it Italy from their leader's name. Hence Dardanus sprung and father Iasius, the founder of our race. Up then, and with joy tell this news whose truth thou needst not doubt unto thy aged sire. Bid him seek Corythus and the Ausonian land, for Jove denies to thee the land of Crete."

Here for the first time we have something definite — the western land Hesperia, which Creusa's shade had indeed mentioned (but Aeneas seems to have paid no heed to this revelation), Oenotria, Italy, the land of Dardanus and Iasius, Corythus, Ausonia — all at last plainly indicating the promised land, the "ancient mother-land."

As yet Aeneas knows only that Italy is his destination; but what part of that long coast is to be his journey's end he does not know. For Tiber and other names which he has heard are as yet only names to him. It is Helenus, the Trojan seer, now established in Epirus on the west coast of Greece, who gives him the final and all-needed direction on this point. He tells Aeneas that the part of Italy which seems so near and easy of access is not his destined land, but that he must first sail clear round Sicily and come to the further side of Italy; and he gives him the omen of the white sow with her thirty young lying under the oak tree, by which he may know that he has reached his journey's end. As to what will then befall him and how he may meet and overcome the difficulties still in his way, the Cumaean Sibyl will enlighten him.

That was a glad and momentous time when Italy actually came in sight, which, though not their portion of the land, was still Italy. Vergil paints the picture with full appreciation of the occasion (III, 521-29):

And now the stars had faded, and the red dawn was mantling in the sky, when we saw the dim hills of Italy, low-lying in the distance. "Italy!" first Achates cried, and all the rest with joyful shouts hailed "Italy!" Then father Anchises crowned a great bowl with wreaths, filled it with wine, and, standing in the high stern, called on the gods: "Ye gods, who rule both land and sea and storms, grant us an easy passage and breathe propitiously upon our way!"

Then ensue the brief landing, the perilous voyage along the coasts of Italy and Sicily, the hospitality of Acestes, the death of Anchises, the wreck of the fleet, and the landing on the coast of Africa.

Lulled here to temporary forgetfulness of his destiny, Aeneas is awakened by a message direct from Jupiter. This message Vergil

gives us twice, as if he would thus emphasize the importance of it. It is given in greater detail and force as Jove first delivers it to Mercury (iv, 223-37) :

Up and away, my son; summon the winds and glide down to earth upon thy wings. Seek out the Dardan king who now is loitering in Tyrian Carthage and has no thought for the city promised him by Fate; and bear my message swiftly through the air. Not such a man his lovely mother promised us, nor for such ends did she twice save him from the Greeks. *But he was to be a hero who should conquer and rule Italy, big with empire and turbulent in war, should prolong the line sprung from the noble Teucrian blood and bring the whole world under the sway of law.* If the thought of so glorious a destiny as this does not fire his breast, and if he himself will not struggle on for his own meed of praise, does he begrudge the Roman strongholds to Ascanius? What does he here? or with what hope does he linger here amidst a hostile race and with no thought of his Ausonian posterity or the Lavinian fields? Let him away to sea! This is my final word. Do thou announce it to him.

By this and all the succeeding action of the fourth book, Vergil has made it very clear that Aeneas is not his own man but is in the hands of higher powers who must have their way with him. And to Dido's pathetic plea and charges of unkindness, he can only say (iv, 340-61) :

If under omens of my own it were ordained
That I should live and lay aside at will the weight
Of destiny, then first of all would I restore
My Trojan city and the dear remains of all
I called my own. Old Priam's royal halls would still
Endure, and long ago would I have built again
Our ruined citadel of Pergama. But now
To mighty Italy Apollo's oracle,
To Italy his lots command that I repair.
This is my love, and this must be my fatherland.

* * * * *

Then cease to vex thyself and me with these complaints.
'Tis not of my own will I fare to Italy.

Arrived at Cumae, within a short distance of his journey's end, as Helenus had directed him, Aeneas prays to Apollo through the Cumaeen Sibyl to grant him light as to his fate which still remains. The Sibyl replies (vi, 83-97) :

O thou, whose great perils of the sea are done! But heavier toils await thee on the land. The Dardanians shall come to the Lavinian realm; have no fear of that. But they will wish that they had not come. Wars, dreadful wars I see, and the Tiber foaming with streams of blood. Thou shalt miss neither Simois nor Xanthus nor the Doric camp. Another Achilles is ready for Latium, he also a goddess' son. Juno will stick close to the 'Trojans' side, whilst thou, a suppliant in dire distress, to what tribes of Italy or to what cities wilt thou not go in thy distress! . . . But do not yield to thy misfortunes; go to meet them the more boldly as thy fortune shall permit. Thy first ray of hope, little as thou thinkst it, shall shine upon thee from a Grecian town.

This speech marks the turning-point in the story of Aeneas. The past, with all its uncertainties and perils of the deep, as the Sibyl has said, is done; and the future, with its struggles which have already been more darkly prophesied, remains. And it is to hearten his son for this final struggle that Anchises has bidden him come to the land of shades. Here he would show him the glorious destiny of his race which lies spread out just beyond the hill of difficulty that looms immediately before him. Vergil's art in transferring the scene to the spirit world is admirable, for only here as yet, in the shades of the unborn, existed that great nation which was to be; and only here could Aeneas view his glorious posterity. We feel as we read that it is really Vergil and not his hero who stands in that remote past, thrilling with pride as he calls the bead-roll of Roman worthies who wrought and suffered greatly for their nation.

First come the Alban kings. "What glorious youths! See what strength they show, and on their brows they wear the civic oak!" But it is Romulus of those early heroes who most excites our pride and hope. "Yes, my son, it is by his auspices that our glorious Rome shall extend her empire to earth's end, her ambitions to the skies, and embrace seven hills with the walls of a single city, blest parent of a warrior brood." Then, as if impatient of the delay that keeps him from his brightest hero, the poet overleaps the centuries and comes at once to Augustus Caesar, "*true child of Deity, who shall establish again for Latium the Golden Age in that very region where Saturn once held sway, while he stretches his rule alike beyond Garamantian and Indian lands.*"

These passages, quoted from the first half of the *Aeneid*, form the great heart and theme of the poem, to which all the rest is but a setting. And this theme is, as we have seen, that *Providence ordained the founding of a great nation in the West, which should bring all the world under righteous sway, and that without end; that for this founding, a small band with a heroic leader was chosen, forced by overwhelming disaster to leave their home and guided to their destined land by the hand and voice of the supernatural.*

Now have the exiled Trojans finished their wanderings in the wilderness and, like the children of Israel, have come at last to their Jordan and the borders of their promised land. There are two *Aeneids*: the first poem is the Book of Wandering; the second, the Book of Conquest; for our Trojans like the Israelites must conquer their promised land before they can possess it. But here the parallel ceases. For, as we take up this second poem (VII-XII), we find that the same Providence that brought our hero to this land has already been preparing the land for his reception. And had not the same opposing power who has been dogging his steps from the beginning still worked against him here, the story would have ended at this point.

The aged Latinus is king of this destined land of Latium, descended in the third generation from the great god Saturn, who had ruled here in the Golden Age of life. Already have two heaven-sent portents come to him. First, a colony of bees, coming from a distance, swarms on the sacred laurel tree in the palace court. And this occurrence the seer interprets (VII, 68-70):

I see a hero coming from afar; along this self-same path a troop is moving hitherward and aiming to command in our high citadel.

The next portent centers their wondering minds upon Lavinia, the king's sole child, whose husband will succeed him on the throne. For while she is ministering at the altar, her long tresses and her garments are seen to blaze up in flames and to scatter burning sparks throughout the palace; but she herself remains unharmed. And the wise men say:

She will herself be illustrious in fame and fortune, but to the nation she bodes tremendous war.

Puzzled by these strange happenings, the old king seeks their meaning from the oracle of his father, Faunus, and receives the plain reply (VII, 96-101):

Look not to ally your daughter in wedlock of Latium, O my son; put not faith in marriage chambers dressed and ready; there are sons-in-law from a far country now on their way, *men destined by mixing their blood with ours to exalt our name to the stars — men whose posterity shall one day look down and see the whole world beneath their feet, far as the two oceans which the sun surveys in his daily rounds, revolving beneath them and wielded by their control.*

With such divine warning and encouragement sounding in his ears, Latinus is more than ready to receive the arriving Trojans to his breast and to offer his daughter in marriage to their heroic leader. But these fair plans are thwarted by Juno, the opposer, who stirs up Queen Amata and Turnus, the rival Italian prince; and soon, starting from a trivial incident, the Trojans and Latins are ranged on opposite sides in deadly strife, and the fierce fires of war are blazing, save only that the good Latinus refuses to retract his friendship and to become a party to the quarrel that has been forced upon Aeneas.

In this crisis, when Aeneas must seek reinforcement for his slender band, the Tiber god appears to him in a dream and, promising his help at every time of need, advises the hero to seek aid of the Arcadian Evander, who had built his city far up the Tiber, Pallanteum, the future site of Rome. Accordingly, Aeneas betakes himself to this Greek colonist, who receives him with the utmost cordiality and promises him his aid. The friendly intercourse between Evander and Aeneas as related in this passage (VIII, 102-275) is one of the most pleasing pictures in the poem. The narrative emphasizes the close relations destined to exist between the Greek and the Roman elements in the nation as Vergil knew it.

It is a happy art that brings the remote ancestor of the founder of Rome to the spot where that city would one day stand, for it enables the Roman reader to hear through Aeneas' ears the story

of ancient Italy as Evander told it and by this means to gain a more vivid realization of his country as it was in those far distant years. It is by such a passage as this (VIII, 306-58), aided by other though less important passages scattered through the poem, not hitherto noted in this paper, that Vergil contributes another important national element to his poem.

Was the patriotic Roman to think of his nation as a parvenu among the other nations of the world, a child in age beside Greece and Egypt? Must he suffer under the galling imputation of modernity, as America has been wont to do in the eyes of Europeans? If the Roman nation started with Rome or even with the coming of Aeneas to Italy, then this imputation must stand; for Greece and Egypt were already old in civilization and story at that time. But if, as this second *Aeneid* strives constantly to impress upon us, the Roman was in half his origin Italian, then could he claim antiquity reaching far back into the shadowy, mythologic past well-nigh as far as Greece and Egypt. Such a passage as the one before us, then, pieced out by numerous other passages containing bits of tradition and antiquarian lore, shows how the land of Italy is intimately connected with ancient sacred story and ranks Rome in old tradition with the most ancient nations of the world. We go back by the help of Evander's tale to the rude Aborigines of Italy (VIII, 315-25):

A race of men that sprung from trunks of trees and hard oaken cores; no rule of life, no culture had they. They never learned to yoke the ox nor to hive their forces nor to husband what they got. The boughs and the chase supplied their savage sustenance. Then came Saturn, flying from the pursuit of Jove. He brought together the race, untamed as they were and scattered over mountain heights, and gave them laws and chose for the country the name of Latium because he had found it a safe hiding place. The Golden Age of story was when he was king, so calm and peaceful was his rule over his people.

And so on, the story, down to the time of Evander who told the tale. And as the people, so the place was, according to Vergil's telling, already even in Evander's time full of relics of a still hoarier antiquity than his (VIII, 355-61):

"Here, too, in these two towns with their ramparts overthrown, you see the relics and the chronicles of by-gone ages. This tower was built by Father Janus, that by Saturn; the name of one, Janiculum, the other, Saturnia." So, talking together they came nigh the place where Evander dwelt in poverty, and saw cattle all about, lowing in what was to be the Roman Forum, and Carinae's luxurious precinct.

So are we made in vivid imagination to see the crowded Forum and its environs such as the times of Augustus knew it, in the virgin primitiveness of that far-off time — a picture which must have had keen interest for the Roman who knew only the man-made pavements and buildings of his city; just as to the dwellers of some prairie city of our West would be the picture of herds of buffalo, the wandering Indian bands, the far-winding wagon trains which once fared over the very plains on which they now stand, but which have forever disappeared from their sight.

The last half of the *Aeneid* is as full of the supernatural as the first; and we are not surprised to see Venus presenting to her son a noble suit of armor made for him at her request in Vulcan's own smithy. As once before Vergil found opportunity in the review of the shades of his posterity by Anchises to sing the praises of the famous men of Roman history that was to be, so in this shield he pictures the great, soul-stirring events of that same history. For here he has shown the triumphs of the Romans for generations and centuries to come. In the description of these pictures on the shield, the poet, we may be sure, has given the chief place to the battle of Actium and the glorious triumphs of Augustus Caesar. The last lines of the shield incident, with which the eighth book ends, are thrilling and portentous:

Such sights Aeneas scans with wonder on Vulcan's shield, his mother's gift, and joys in the portraiture of things he knows not *as he heaves on his shoulder the fame and the fate of grandsons yet to be* —

a remarkable and telling juxtaposing of Aeneas and his posterity of Rome.

Meanwhile, with Evander's assistance, Aeneas has made alliance with the Etruscans, who, since they have driven out their outrageously oppressive king, Mezentius (*contemptor deorum*),

are without a leader. Moved by the counsel of an aged soothsayer: "No Italian may take the reins of a race so proud. Choose foreigners to lead you," the Etruscans gladly accept Aeneas as their leader and move with him toward the seat of war.

The last four books of the poem are but the story of the long-drawn-out strife ending in the duel between Aeneas and Turnus. In the ninth, which describes the desperate defence of the besieged camp in the absence of its leader, we have a fine description of the simple, hardy life of the early Italians. It is put in the mouth, to be sure, of an enemy of the Trojans as he taunts them from before their camp; but still his stock was later to mingle with those very Trojans and form the Roman race. Hence the Roman can rejoice in the hardy ancestry of whom this Numanus boasts (ix, 603-13):

A hardy race even from the stock, we bring our sons as soon as born to the river-side and harden them with the water's cruel cold. Our boys spend long days in the chase and weary out the forest; their sport is to rein the steed and aim shafts from the bow. Our youth, strong to labor and schooled by want, subdues the earth with the rake or shakes the city's walls with battle. All our life we ply the steel; with the butt of our spears we belabor our cattle. Old age, which dulls all else, impairs not the force of our hearts or changes our fresh vigor; the hoary head is clasped by the helmet; our constant joy is to bring home new booty and live by rapine!

Surely a sturdy stock from which to grow a sturdy nation!

The climax of the second poem is the duel of the twelfth book. The development of the sentiment in favor of this dénouement has been skillfully elaborated by the poet in the eleventh book. The only points that need claim our attention are: first, the faithlessness and treachery of Turnus and his party in face of the most solemn treaties, qualities which set off vividly the manly honesty of Aeneas; and second, the terms of settlement reached both by the treaty between Aeneas and Turnus in the event of the victory of either side and by the fates themselves as announced by Jupiter to Juno.

The oath which Aeneas solemnly undertakes to perform in the event of his own victory over Turnus is in part as follows (xii, 189-93):

I will not bid the Italians be subject to Troy, nor ask the crown for myself. No! *Let the two great nations, one unconquered as the other, join on equal terms in an everlasting federation. The gods and their ritual shall be my gift.* Let my good father-in-law still wield the sword.

So, by Vergil's happy device, both nations save face; neither suffers the disgrace of defeat, and both may join the new alliance with mutual respect, and each contribute important elements to the partnership.

In the final interview between Jupiter and Juno, the goddess, seeing the hopelessness of her long struggle, announces her surrender, pleading only that her Latium and Italy be not dominated by the Trojan power (xii, 818-28):

And now I yield, indeed, and quit this odious struggle. Yet there is a boon I would ask, a boon which Destiny forefends not. I ask it for the sake of Latium, for the dignity of your own people: when at last peace shall be ratified by a happy bridal (for happy let it be, when bonds of treaty shall be knit at last), let it not be thy will (1) that the native Latians should change their ancient name, become Trojans, or take the Teucrian style; (2) let them not alter their language or their garb; (3) let there be Latium still, let there be centuries of Alban kings, let there be a Roman stock strong with the strength of Italian manhood, and let Troy be fallen as she is, name and nation alike.

And Jove grants this petition in these words:

I grant your wish: the Ausonians shall keep their native tongue, their native customs; the name shall remain as it is; the Teucrians shall merge in the nation which they join — that and no more. *Their rites and worship shall be my gift. All shall be Latians and speak the Latin tongue. The race that shall arise from this admixture of Ausonian blood shall transcend in piety earth and heaven itself.*

Traditionally, then, or, as they themselves probably considered it, historically, the Romans were Trojans in their religion and a portion of their stock; Latin or Italian in language, in customs, and in laws.

From this review of the *Aeneid* we find that the poet has had patriotically in mind his country and his nation from her divine appointment down to his own day:

1. He has treated of his country from the historical, archaeological,

geographical, and genealogical points of view, always with interest and admiration.

2. He has made his readers realize the dignity of their nation by reason of its great antiquity.
3. He has shown that the Roman state was divinely ordained for ages before its establishment and that divine Providence had been working continually to this end.
4. In an age of many and confused and often degrading religious beliefs and practices, he called the thoughts of his countrymen back to the more pure and simple old religion of the fathers.
5. He dwelt upon the divinely appointed mission of his country to rule the world, and the great principles of justice and mercy which should characterize that rule.
6. His glorification of Rome culminates in the glorification of the régime of Augustus Caesar, in whose reign he would have his readers see the fulfillment of the long series of promises given to the ancient heroes of their race.

And the result? We shall never know the actual influence of such poets as Vergil and Horace as serving to rouse the patriotism of their countrymen, dominant in some, despairing in others, and to fix their hopes of peace and prosperity upon this new régime. But of the patriotic purpose of these two poets, and of Vergil in particular in this great work of his, we can have no doubt. Certain it is that Augustus himself appreciated to the full the value to him of the poet and his work, and that not alone to posterity but to the Romans of his own day Vergil was preëminently THE ROMAN POET.

LATIN AND ENGLISH

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Thomas De Quincey once made the statement that a man could afford to pluck out his right eye and circumnavigate the globe, if by so doing he could gain a reasonable mastery of his native language. In making this statement, it seems likely that De Quincey had in mind four considerations: first, that the mastery of English is an exceedingly difficult task; second, that if one would adequately express his thought, he must have a reasonable command of his native speech; third, that one who would enter into his spiritual inheritance, must not be deficient in linguistic training; fourth, that a mastery of his native speech is an essential part of the equipment of one who would play his part as a citizen in a democracy.

But what do we mean by a mastery of English? To some perhaps it means the ability to write a decent business letter with reasonable correctness. That is the minimum. To others it means the ability to create literature, to practice literature as a fine art. That is the maximum. The golden mean lies somewhere between these two extremes. The maximum is too high; for not more than one per cent of our college graduates have the natural gifts which the creation of literature requires. The minimum is too low; for any boy or girl of sufficient capacity to take a high-school course with profit has a capacity to grow that reaches beyond high school and college. If we could only test the value of our schools and colleges by the subsequent growth of their graduates, and if we could only realize the importance of a mastery of English as an instrument of growth, perhaps we should be willing to pay the price.

Now what is the price? What are the best means of attaining a mastery of English?

First, I would mention the environment of a cultivated family circle, where at the family table topics of importance are continually discussed in English that is pure, precise, clear, and appropriate. Henry Adams, as a boy, could sit at his father's table and hear the most eminent men in America discuss matters of the weightiest import. We have no fears that Henry Adams will not speak English that is pure, precise, clear, and appropriate. But unfortunately we cannot arrange that every boy who comes to college shall have the environment of Henry Adams.

I would mention as a second means of mastering English, the persistent reading of the best English literature, and the persistent practice of English composition. Lincoln, by studying the Bible and Shakespeare and the speeches of the great Americans who had preceded him, attained the magnificent literary style of the *Second Inaugural*. But let us not be deceived. Unfortunately we are not all Lincolns. Most of us would give all the courses we had in college for such an inner urge and such a set of brains as Lincoln had. While it is entirely safe to tell the average high-school student how much a study of English masterpieces did for Lincoln, it will not be safe to depend entirely on this for results.

The third method of gaining a command of English, is by mastering a foreign language and by long and persistent practice in translating foreign masterpieces. Cicero in his *De Oratore* gives some account of how he attained his marvelous mastery of Latin. At first, he says, he began by reading a considerable portion of some Latin masterpiece, so much as he could easily retain in memory; then he would try to reproduce the thought in his own style. He soon found that there was little mental development in merely recalling the words that the mental effort of his predecessor had chosen; and that, if he substituted words of his own, they were usually inferior to the words of the original. The result was that he found his style deteriorating rather than improving. Then he turned to Greek literature and began to translate the best

passages he could find. Here he found a real mental development and a real improvement in style in searching out the Latin words that would most perfectly present the thought of the Greek original. Let me offer one illustration of my thought from modern times. Concerning the statesmanship of Woodrow Wilson various opinions are held; concerning his mastery of English his friends and foes alike hold one opinion. It is universally agreed that his state papers are as fine as, perhaps even finer than, those of any other president of the United States. How did he attain his lucidity, precision, and elegance of style? As a student in college he followed the example of Cicero. He so familiarized himself with all the extant speeches of Demosthenes that he could pick up the volume of Greek text and open it at random and translate into fluent, precise, and elegant English the page that happened to confront his eye.

Secondary schools in England, France, and Germany recognize the necessity of such linguistic training for students who are going to enter the universities. In England the students who enter Oxford and Cambridge have usually had eight years of training in Latin and six years of training in Greek. In Germany the student who matriculates in the university, has had either nine years of Latin and six years of Greek or nine years of French and six years of English, fifteen years of training in foreign languages. The German universities still take seriously that dictum of Goethe that a man never understands his mother tongue until he has mastered some foreign language. A student who has had fifteen years of such linguistic training, is prepared to read, is prepared to take advantage of the opportunities offered by any library. Even without an instructor he can make headway in philosophy, economics, history, political science, sociology, and literature; and if he has had a reasonable training in mathematics, he can make headway in much of the literature of science. In America at the present moment, however, we have to be content if a very few of our college and university graduates are as well trained linguistically as the students who are entering German, French, and English universities. It goes without saying that this training has not been merely

linguistic: it has also involved a real and vital contact with the greatest minds of the ancient and modern world, and it has introduced the student to a knowledge of ancient and contemporary civilizations; it has saved him from provincialism, and in a very real sense has made him a citizen of the world. To discuss all these topics would mean the writing of another paper, and for the present moment our main interest is the matter of linguistic training.

By linguistic training we mean primarily four things:

The attainment of a vocabulary.

Discipline in using words with precision.

The mastery of the fundamentals of grammar.

A schooling in the appreciation of the beautiful in language
i.e. in the appreciation of literature as the finest of the arts,
even if one can not create literature.

It may be fairly said that the size of a man's vocabulary in a certain sense is the measure of the mental circle in which he lives. If you are told that the native population of Java has a vocabulary of only four hundred words, you know immediately that the native population of Java lives its mental life in a narrow circle. If you are told that the dictionary of the Samoan language contains only thirteen hundred words, you know immediately that the Samoans have a mental life that is narrow and circumscribed. Even if you had acquired all of those thirteen hundred words, you would not care to try to explain to the Samoans the theological doctrines of the Apostle Paul or the Constitution of the United States. But to bring the matter home to America, you know that the American who has a vocabulary of five thousand words will find no comfort in trying to read Bryce's *American Commonwealth* or Jowett's translation of the *Republic* of Plato. He may find comfort in certain portions of the *Saturday Evening Post*, but his lack of vocabulary stands as a fixed barrier between him and the higher ranges of human thought. A mere lack of words effectually prevents him from attaining his full intellectual stature, from entering upon his full inheritance as a human being, and even from sensing the main currents of contemporary thought. Wisdom cries aloud in the streets, ready to equip him for citizenship in a great common-

wealth, but she speaks in a language that he but vaguely understands. He has not paid the price. He has not undertaken the arduous labor of thumbing a Greek, Latin, French, or German lexicon, gradually acquiring the words that will liberate his spirit. He has not spent years in digging to find the key that will open the treasure house.

The same labor will not only increase the number of his words; it will also give him a grasp of their precise value and meaning. It hardly needs to be said that precise and accurate thinking depends on a precise and accurate understanding of the exact value of words. Many a dispute and wrangle would be settled, if the disputants set an accurate valuation on the meaning of the words they used. The preacher often fails to convey his message to his audience, not because the message has not been formulated with clarity and precision, but because a portion of the audience does not comprehend the exact meaning of certain words that have been used. How often the public press fails to transmit to the world the message of the statesman simply because the reporter is slovenly in his evaluation of certain important words. The editor of the *New York Times* not long ago made this statement: "I wish my reporters to know the difference between 'expunge' and 'expurgate,' between 'annihilate' and 'decimate,' and the easiest way to get that knowledge is by a study of Latin." Suppose the student does look up the verb *ago* half a dozen times to find suitable meanings for the half dozen different contexts in which the verb appears, the thumbing of the lexicon is not the futile thing it seems if he thus builds up in his memory a series of half a dozen related words which he is able to differentiate and if he has succeeded in fixing in his mind a Latin root from which twenty-five English words have their derivation. He can afford to learn the declension of the present participle if he can gain from it a vital sense of what the termination *-nt* means in a thousand English derivatives, such as *sentient*, *cogent*, *incipient*, *crescent*. He can even afford to wrestle with the gerundive and the passive periphrastic for the sake of learning that the termination *-nd* signifies *worthy to be*. When he has once learned this fact, he will never meet Amanda

on the street without knowing that she is worthy to be loved, and he will understand why Shakespeare chose Miranda as the name for a certain heroine. He will more intimately possess such words as *reverend*, *memorandum*, *dividend*, *subtrahend*, *propaganda*, and *agenda*. Years of translation in which his daily duty has been to pick and choose among groups of synonyms will gradually create in him the habit of carefully weighing words, and there will be a corresponding refinement in his processes of thought. Such training of course does not increase the native endowment of any student; it merely furnishes the brain with a set of tools with which it may do its finest work.

Our third point is the mastery of grammar. I once met a prominent banker who told me that the most valuable course that he had in Cornell University, was a course in Latin prose composition which he had under Charles E. Bennett. Such a course implies a thorough knowledge of declensions and conjugations and the more important rules of Latin grammar. Such knowledge seems far remote from the practical needs of a banker and the business world. But is it? About thirty years ago there was established in the city of Dorchester, a suburb of Boston, a public commercial high school for those students who were going into business. The directors of the school sought to make the course of study as practical as possible. They eliminated every subject which they thought was not practical, and they eliminated Latin. Gradually the authorities were convinced that they were not getting the results which they desired in spelling, grammar, and English composition, and so they determined to put Latin into the curriculum, not as a required subject but as an elective. After ten years of experience with Latin as an elective, the principal of the high school made the statement in public print that those students who elected Latin were uniformly superior to all the other students in the school, in spelling, grammar, and English composition. This is the testimony of one who was seeking a minimum in the mastery of English, merely the ability to write a decent business letter with reasonable correctness. But what is the testimony of those who are seeking a maximum in the mastery of English, the ability to prac-

tice literature as a fine art? Twenty years ago it was my privilege to talk with Lyman Abbott for half an hour. Mr. Abbott was at that time the editor of the *Outlook*. In our conversation he told me that his old Latin teacher had taught him all the grammar that he knew. He seemed to think that a knowledge of grammar was a very necessary part of his equipment; indeed he said that it was absolutely essential in all his work as an editor and writer. It is not contended that a knowledge of grammar will altogether save one in his oral English from slipping now and then into those incorrect ways of speech which an early environment has made habitual. It will do much, however, to remedy such faults. In written English a knowledge of grammar will do much more. In these days when many a scientist fails to transmit his message with accuracy and precision, when many a legislator places upon the law books laws that are ambiguous and of uncertain meaning, perhaps it is time to pay a little attention to such a dry and plebeian thing as grammar and to remember that the easiest and surest approach to the subject is through the Latin. Perhaps it will be well for us to remember that our grammatical terminology was invented by those old Stoic philosophers who had not only a desire to know the truth but also a desire to state the truth with clarity and precision.

It remains to say a word about my fourth point, that a mastery of English implies an appreciation of the beautiful in language, *i.e.* an ability to appreciate literature as the finest of the arts, if not the ability to create literature. After the bread and butter have been earned and all the material wants of the body have been satisfied, the human heart is hungry for something more. My thought may be briefly put in the words of a certain anonymous philosopher who said: "If you have two loaves of bread, sell one and buy hyacinths to feed the soul." The greatest marvel of life today is not that a heroic man has flown across the Atlantic nor yet that a man in Washington has talked by wireless with a man in Honolulu, but that the great and mighty dead can talk with us across twenty centuries and that for little more than the price of a loaf of bread we can buy hyacinths to feed the soul. Few persons are so

poor that they can not have Shakespeare and a translation of Plato on their shelves. But long ago Ruskin pointed out that the mere owning of books did not really mean possessing them. The price must be paid. The language in which these books are written and the technique of literature must be mastered.

To discuss adequately all the beauties of literary style would require a treatise on rhetoric. Our paper is only concerned with such embellishments as arise naturally and imperceptibly from the long study of the masterpieces in a foreign literature. There are five such forms of embellishment that require our special attention:

The beauty and grace that come from an appropriate prose rhythm.

The beauty and strength and variety that are produced by a proper collocation of vowels and consonants.

The beauty and power that come from weaving thoughts into compact and unified paragraphs.

The beauty that arises from such a temperate use of figures of speech as will produce emphasis without nausea.

The beauty that arises from a precise use of words.

It goes without saying that, if one who has no important message to deliver employs these rhetorical devices, his words are but an empty shell. On the other hand, he who has an important message to deliver, if he makes no sacrifice on the altar of the Muses, if he does not pay the price of mastering these rhetorical devices, will fail to reach his audience. Neither his contemporaries nor the men of future generations will hear his voice. The truth that he has toiled so hard to discover will remain inoperative and ineffective in the world.

First, the matter of rhythm. Often we lay aside a book, not because its thought is poor, but because the author does not carry us along on the current of his rhythm. The public speaker who has not mastered some form of rhythmic prose, drives his audience to despair and waits in vain for a second audience. In his treatise on the ideal orator Cicero devotes a third of his pages to a discussion of rhythmic prose, pointing out five rhythmical cadences that make

especially effective sentence endings. This is not a mere theory with him; it is also a matter of practice. An investigation of his speeches and philosophical treatises reveals the fact that eighty per cent of his sentences end in these chosen cadences. But not only are the endings of his sentences rhythmical: the long periods themselves sweep along with a rhythmic flow that invites and compels attention. This was not a sheer accident nor a gift of nature with him. He spent long hours in reading and translating the masterpieces of Greek poetry. The Latin teacher who drills his pupils to read with appreciation the majestic lines of Vergil's *Aeneid* or the lyric lines of Horace, is doing something more than train them in a form of pedantry or in a form of esoteric enjoyment that is remote from the actual demands of life. He is also creating in them a sense of rhythm that will reappear and manifest itself in the structure of their English sentences.

Let us now briefly discuss the psychological value of a proper collocation of vowels and consonants in arranging our words. This seems an abstruse matter and far from all finding out. But let me illustrate what I mean with a concrete example. The lyric poet, Heine, took the harsh, rough German speech and from it so chose and arranged his words that one who knew German only through the lyric odes of Heine, might imagine that German was a graceful language and free from all harshness. Sometimes the great poets have let drop some hint as to the manner in which this miracle is achieved. Lasos of Hermione took pains to compose in Greek an ode in which the hissing sound of *s* was not heard. In one of his letters Tennyson says that he tried to avoid any combination of words that would bring together a final and initial *s*. In the first century before Christ Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote an elaborate treatise on this subject, a treatise entitled *De Compositione Verborum*. This treatise is worth considerably more attention than it receives in these modern days. And yet, after all, the best way to attain this subtle sense of the psychological value of the proper arrangement of the letters of our alphabet, is not by studying an elaborate treatise like that of Dionysius, but by saturating one's mind with the finest lines of Vergil, Horace, and

Homer. The dear old lady who was entranced and thrilled by the "blessed word 'Mesopotamia'" in one of Whitefield's sermons, deserves to be something more than a joke, for unconsciously she pointed out a great truth in literature. Some words are blessed words because of the vowels and consonants which they contain. Horace in his *Art of Poetry* has explained that common words can sometimes be so combined as to make phrases of uncommon value. Horace was quite aware of the price that must be paid to discover these rare combinations of common words; for during his long literary career his average output was only two-thirds of a line a day. I repeat that an intimate familiarity with the phrases of Horace will go far to help one understand the subtle chemistry of sound and to create a true sense of the psychological value of the letters of our alphabet when properly combined.

Third, the beauty and power that come from the ability to compose compact, well-ordered, and unified paragraphs. Anyone who has read the *Journals* of Ralph Waldo Emerson will remember how often he mentions the fact that he put a copy of the *Odes* of Horace and a copy of the *Epigrams* of Martial into his traveling bag as he was setting out on his lecture tours. It would be foolishness to assert that Emerson's objective in doing this was to perfect his ability to write paragraphs in prose. It is not foolishness, however, to assert that such an ability is one of the finer by-products of a long familiarity with these two poets. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the finer odes of Horace and the finer epigrams of Martial have all the qualities that a good paragraph should possess, that they move surely, smoothly, and successfully to a conclusion that the reader can not escape. It is not a vain imagining to say that he who translates and retranslates these odes and epigrams gradually acquires what may be called a finer paragraphic sense. This is a matter which needs no demonstration for those who have enjoyed the friendship of Horace and Martial. It perhaps must be taken on faith by those who have not had this rich experience.

Fourth, the temperate use of figures of speech as a form of embellishment. Long before Rome produced any literature the Greek

poets and orators had discovered and put to appropriate uses the finer figures of speech and thought. At the very time when Rome was awakening to an interest in literature the Alexandrians and Pergamenes were classifying these figures and giving them names, although they could no longer use them with their true effectiveness. Indeed one may recognize these figures and give them their proper names without attaining any perfection of style. One must have a worthy body of thought before he has a right to use such ornamentation. But granting a body of thought worthy of expression, it is obvious that this thought cannot develop its true dynamic until it has attained the figures and forms that will reveal its real value. It is hardly safe to learn the figures of speech from a treatise on rhetoric; it is much safer to become acquainted with them in those masterpieces in which they are successfully employed with temperance and appropriateness. Where can one better become acquainted with the conservative use of simile, metaphor, antithesis, anaphora, alliteration, and balanced phrases and clauses than in the literature of Greece and Rome. There, if anywhere, one can assimilate the subtle sense of the golden mean in literature which lies between the bare expression of the thought and that superfluous ornamentation which detracts attention from the thought that is to be expressed.

It remains to say a concluding word about the beauty and refinement that arises from the precise and accurate use of words. This is the heart of the whole matter. The thrill can hardly be measured when the word or phrase that exactly clothes the thought has been discovered. If you wish an amplification of my meaning, I would refer you to the *locus classicus* in one of Barrie's novels, where Sentimental Tommy bites his pen and scratches his head for two hours, waiting for the exact word to come. But so large a portion of the earlier part of my paper has been devoted to this subject that now only a sentence or two in recapitulation is demanded. Precision in thought presupposes precision in the use of words. Such precision of thought is necessary not only for one who is going to produce literature of power, but also for

him who is going to live amicably with his neighbors and for him who is going to participate effectually in a democracy such as ours. I once heard a great political economist say that the chances of success for any democratic form of government were in direct proportion to the number of citizens who were capable of abstract thought. Perhaps I need not remind you that the words with which we do our abstract thinking are, in the main, Latin derivatives.

Book Reviews

CHRISTIAN HUELSEN, *The Forum and the Palatine*, translated by HELEN H. TANZER from the First German Edition, with Numerous Additions and Revisions by the Author: New York, A. Bruderhausen (1928). Pp. xii + 100, with 65 pp. of plates and 1 folding plan. \$3.50.

This book is a translation of *Forum und Palatin* (1926), with some alterations. Besides its eighty quarto pages of text with thirty illustrations, it contains sixteen pages of Sources and Recent Literature, Index, Folding Plan, and sixty-five Plates; and is thus a work for the learned as well as the learner. It is a beautiful book and a conservative book. It will give special pleasure to the many scholars of various nationalities who learned their Rome in the old Huelsen days of thirty years ago when the German Archaeological Institute on the Capitoline welcomed to its lectures and exercises the students of other lands. It is still essentially a book of those days: while its bibliography of recent literature includes the major articles and books of the past twenty-five years and thus brings it up to the present, its author takes little account of the various "epoch-making" theories that have troubled the world of topography and monuments in the nearer past, and for the most part restates or amplifies his conclusions as we already know them from *Das Forum Romanum* (1904, and Carter's translation, 1909), other publications, and lectures. We find that the temple of Apollo may still be thought of as to the left of the Clivus Palatinus to one ascending from the Sacred Way (65); that the Augustan palace on the Palatine is to be identified under the Flavian palace and to the east of it (66 ff.); that the temple long called Jupiter Victor's, whatever it may be, cannot be Augustus' temple of Apollo (61); and that the temple of Augustus is still the temple of Augustus, and not a forecourt to the imperial palaces of Domitian's time (43).

It must be said that Professor Tanzer's rendering of Huelsen's German is not the finished performance that a classicist's rendering of a book on Rome should be. There are examples of "translation English," sometimes queer, sometimes misleading, sometimes unintelligible: the rear walls of the temples of Vespasian and Concordia "lean against" the Tabularium (21); statues of "noble metals" (21); "the bridge which Caligula threw over the Palatine to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus" (28); the Regia served as a "religious arsenal" (36); Hadrian I "acquired merit" by the decoration of a church (40); "it was possible (arch of Titus) to build a chamber in the upper half of the passage by tapering in a ceiling or a shallow arch" (52). The following are mistakes: the arch of Augustus for the arch of Tiberius (18, § 3); "since the beginning of the ninth century A.D. a church has stood in the centre of the Hippodrome dedicated to Saint Caesarius, with a monastery for Greek monks" (74). "Of far interior workmanship" (38) is a slip in the proofreading. Occasionally there is a bad sentence: "they were used to store not only foodstuffs but for wares of all sorts" (43); the Greek monks "were forced to flee from Byzantium and found protection in Rome and a fertile field for their artistic activity" (41). The punctuation is neither orthodox nor consistent: "to the left of this group we have Pope Zacharias (741-752) wearing the square blue nimbus, to the right the Primicerius Theodotus, uncle of Pope Hadrian I (772-795) who also wears the square blue nimbus and holds a model of the church in his hands" (42); "the temple of Vesta, which, according to its founding is one of the oldest temples in Rome, lies south of the Regia" (44); "the Forum suffered through hostile invasions (the Goths under Alaric 410, the Vandals under Genseric, 455) . . . ; but . . . the Ostrogothic kings, especially the vigorous Theodoric (483-526) tried to keep the buildings of the capital in repair" (53); "the flames reduced the blocks of marble to lime and the whole building, including its rich art treasures was completely destroyed, and not a trace of it remained" (65). Somehow this reminds us of Peter Quince: "He hath rid his prologue like a rough colt; he knows not the stop." We are willing to concede that punctuation is enough

of an art to have its freedoms, but we also insist that it is enough of a science to have its rules. The lacking or misplaced comma may quite easily be responsible for an untruth. In the first example above, "to the left," etc., who is it that "also wears the square blue nimbus and holds a model of the church in his hands," if not Hadrian I? Yet it actually is Theodotus: who in this punctuative operation loses not only his nimbus but the model of the church. That this is the third consecutive badly punctuated book on a classical subject sent me for review, is a bad sign. If we keep on, the doctors of the remote future will be writing dissertations on the vanishing comma and the decay of punctuation under democracy. "A good moral, my lord: it is not enough to speak, but to speak true."

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CARL DARLING BUCK, *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*²: Boston, Ginn and Company (1928). Pp. xviii + 348. \$7.50.

It is self-evident that much new dialectic material has been found in the various inscriptions which have come to light during the eighteen years which have elapsed since the publication of the first edition of Professor Buck's *Greek Dialects*, and that its incorporation and use would be one of the principal problems for the revision. This the author has accomplished with admirable skill. Without changing the paging of the grammatical part, by substituting newer and better examples, by additions where the length of the lines at the end of a paragraph allowed it, or by inserting new material in the space gained by the omission of less important items or by the restatement of grammatical facts in still more concise form, he has found it possible to recognize the increase in knowledge of the Greek dialects on every hand. Where additions had to be of a more extensive nature, they were inserted in the part entitled "Notes and References," which have been rewritten and considerably enlarged. Noteworthy additional features of these are a summary of the characteristics of some liter-

ary dialects, *e.g.* of Alcaeus and Sappho, and added information on the history of the Greek alphabets in the light of recent discoveries.

In accordance with the fact that the most important additional material in the grammar comes from the Arcadian, Argolic, and Locrian dialects, we find three new inscriptions from Arcadia and one from Argos published as addenda to the selection of inscriptions, while one in the Locrian dialect (issued 1926) had to be printed in the Notes.

All the changes mentioned as well as those in the Selected Bibliography and Glossary and Index consist in bringing the work up to date, and it is therefore unnecessary to remark that the same qualities are present in the revision which have made the first edition an indispensable work. It is the only book in which the beginner can find everything essential for the study of Greek dialects: grammar, texts, and sufficient help in the Notes and Glossary. Nevertheless, even specialists cannot get along without it; for while all the larger works on Greek dialects, *e.g.* Hoffman and Bechtel, as well as the summary of Thumb,¹ arrange the material according to dialects, so that they constitute in a way a series of distinct grammars, Professor Buck alone has arranged it according to subject-matter, so that at a glance one may see the dialectic distribution of a grammatical phenomenon. At the same time the obvious advantages of the other plan are gained to some extent by the addition of short summaries of the characteristics of the various dialects. Last but not least, everything is presented not only with the writer's characteristic brevity and clearness, but also with that soundness of judgment which makes him an admirable guide for beginners and causes scholars to disagree with him only rarely.

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¹ Cf. Otto Hoffmann, *Die Griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhang mit den wichtigsten ihrer Quellen dargestellt*: Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (3 vols., 1891, 1893, and 1898); Friedrich Bechtel, *Die Griechischen Dialekte*: Berlin, Weidmann (3 vols., 1921, 1923, and 1924); and Albert Thumb, *Handbuch der Griechischen Dialekte*: Heidelberg, Carl Winter (1909).

W. G. WADDELL, *Selections from Menander*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1927). Pp. xxxvi + 182; 4 plates. \$2.50.

The "Old Menander," as assembled by Meinecke and Kock, consisted of about 1800 verses. The "New Menander" has added as much more. The additions range from Tischendorf's finds on Mt. Sinai in 1844 to recent volumes of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*; but they are most commonly associated with the great Cairo codex, containing 1468 vss. from five plays, which was found at Aphroditopolis in 1905 by M. Lefebvre. "Most appropriately," as some one has said, "the poet of love rose from the dead at a city named after the goddess of love."

There has been no school edition of Menander in English since Capps's volume,¹ and Professor Waddell deserves our thanks for attempting to supply a more serviceable text for English-speaking students. His work contains nearly 1200 verses, of which the largest group (318 vss.) belongs to the *Epitrepontes*, called *The Arbitration* by the present editor. Inasmuch as over 700 vss. of this play are now known and it is the only one of Menander's pieces which can still, in some measure, be appreciated as an entity, one reviewer² has characterized the curtailment which it has here received as a "wanton spurning of the gods' glorious gifts." The editor, however, has defended himself on the ground that his text was primarily prepared for young students and that the omissions were made from "considerations of decency."

The notes are apposite and informative and display wide reading on the part of their author, who consciously endeavored to "incorporate as much recent research as the limits of space admitted" (p. vi). He displayed no hesitancy in appropriating whatever in his predecessors appealed to him, justifying himself (p. v) by the maxim $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'Εἰμῆς. But neither *Epitrepontes* vs. 67 nor Hesychius seems to afford warrant for employing this phrase in such a way.

The Introduction, though it contains little that is really new,

¹ *Four Plays of Menander*: Boston, Ginn & Co. (1910). Allinson's edition in the Loeb Classical Library appeared in 1921.

² Cf. *Class. Rev.* XLII (1928), 27 and 94.

will be found valuable by undergraduates as a convenient statement of pertinent matters. It is interesting to be reminded (p. xii) that Menander won few victories (three at the Lenaea and five at the City Dionysia), and was too refined to be popular with the masses of his own day. *Dimidiatus Menander*,³ if correctly understood, was thus a correct characterization of Terence by Julius Caesar. The statement on p. x, n. 2, has now been confirmed by *Oxyr. Papyri* xvii (1927), 85. The author followed Fraenkel,⁴ without quoting him, in tracing the derivation of the Plautine *cantica* to Roman tragedy. The statement that an actor entering from the spectators' right came "from the town" needs to be qualified; cf. Fensterbusch, *Philologus* lxxxI (1925), 480-83. The scene in New Comedy was usually laid in the middle of the city, which could thus be reached through either *parodus*. In the passage of Horace (*Epist.* II, 1, 57) quoted on p. xxix, *Menandri* has recently been proposed as an emendation for *Menandro*; cf. *Phil. Woch.* xlvii (1927), 1501. Despite the table of abbreviations on p. viii, there are others which will not be clear to many, e.g. "P. S. I." on p. vi.

Seven illustrations on the four plates are attractive and apt, but will be familiar to specialists.

The new edition has many merits and will be found useful both in the classroom and in the library. Needless to state, it will not supersede the volumes by Capps and Allinson.

"An enthusiast may still emulate Hertel, the Renaissance editor of Menander (1561), and offer a year of his life for the pleasure of reading a play as Menander left it" (p. xvi).

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ROY C. FLICKINGER

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE, *The Ithaca of the Odyssey: A new Attempt to show that Thiaki is the Ithaca of Homer*: Oxford, Blackwell (1928). Pp. 42; 6 plates. \$1.10.

If scholars are ever to solve that most troublesome of questions,

³ Quoted by Waddell on p. xiii. For new interpretations of this phrase, cf. Norwood, *The Art of Terence*: Oxford, Blackwell (1923), 142, n. and Flickinger, *Phil. Quart.* vi (1927), 252-54 and vii (1928), 114.

⁴ Cf. *Plautinisches im Plautus*: Berlin, Weidmann (1922), 336-73.

the identification of Homer's Ithaca and the isles adjacent thereto, it is their bounden duty to keep pegging away. So, if one cannot agree with most of the conclusions reached by Mr. Burrage in this monograph, he may at any rate feel grateful to him for re-examining the problem and making a number of interesting suggestions. Mr. Burrage is seemingly not familiar with all the recent discussions, but he has made diligent use of the writings of Gell, Leake, Vollgraff, Bérard, and Dörpfeld. Likewise, the week or ten days that he spent on Thiaki were fruitful in discovery.

An early conclusion is reached that Thiaki is the Ithaca of the *Odyssey*, but the author does not carry his proof very far, being content to base his claim mainly on (1) the relative numbers of the suitors from each island, wherein the assignment of only 12 to Ithaca must denote the smallest of the group, (2) on the description of Ithaca in *Od.* XIII, 243 as being "not very wide." This is disappointing to the critical reader, who feels that Mr. Burrage is, after all, completely drugged with the sweetmeats of tradition. Why does he abandon as hopelessly confused and contradictory the chief geographical passage of the poem, *Od.* IX, 18-28? And why has he omitted all mention of both of the fictitious accounts given by Odysseus of his return to the island?

Though the name of Mr. Brewster is not mentioned, the author follows his lead in equating Leucas with Same, and Cephalonia with Dulichium. He agrees also with him in abandoning the hopeless attempt to identify Asteris with Daskalio and in finding it, as does Dörpfeld, in Arkudi. Unfortunately, Arkudi will work on no other basis than the Leucas-Ithaca theory, which Mr. Burrage rejects.

It is extremely difficult to understand his view of the course followed by Telemachus in his return from Pylos. He intimates that the normal route would have brought him northward along the coast of Greece, and thence westerly, sweeping along the arc of a circle running at no great distance to the south of Arkudi-Asteris, to Frikes on the east side of Thiaki. But being forewarned Telemachus lands on the southern end of the island and sends his ship along the west coast to Polis. The suitors, Mr. Bur-

rage thinks, returned to *Frikes* without having seen the ship of Telemachus. This, verily, is hard doctrine. Moreover, he decides that Port Frikes represents both the main harbor and the Rheithron which is referred to by Mentès. But surely it is perfectly clear from the *Odyssey* that the two are distinct. The Harbor of Phorcys is left in the traditional place, Vathy.

Mr. Burrage's main interests lie in the identification of the architectural ruins of the island. The city of Odysseus he thinks lay well back from the sea in the northern part of Ithaca, and he suggests the so-called "School of Homer" as the probable remains of the palace. The city fountains are, of course, easily found. The farmhouse of Laërtes lies at no great distance in the modern Pili-cata. He follows Gell in placing Arethusa and the rock Corax in the other extremity of the island; and he takes a pardonable pride in a remarkable discovery of his own — the ruins of the hut and steading of Eumæus about a quarter of a mile from the fountain. But the "divine swineherd" must have had many able-bodied assistants to help him in setting in place the enormous building stones that Mr. Burrage's photographs reveal. It is a sad pity that the experiences of fine scholars like Sir W. Gell and his followers should have been confined so largely to academic shades and college halls. It is surely a fair question to ask of each of them whether he has ever attempted to drive an individual pig, not a herd, a distance of ten rods — to say nothing of ten long miles. Were he once to make the attempt, his sympathies for Eumæus would undoubtedly lead him to modify his views regarding the actual distance of the swineherd's piggery from the city.

That the city of Odysseus will at some time come to light seems increasingly probable in view of the extraordinary advances of archaeology. But wherever it now lies buried, it can hardly be, I think, in the soil of the insignificant islet of Thiaki.

A. D. FRASER

ALFRED UNIVERSITY

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, North Carolina. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Latin Exhibit of the N. E. A.

Miss Eliza K. Brown, the chairman of the Latin exhibit for the meeting of the N. E. A. in Minneapolis in July, has responded to a request for a description of the exhibit with the following very instructive and helpful account of the phases of the work which seemed of particular interest:

The Latin exhibit for the N. E. A. was intended primarily to show that elusive factor — *how we teach*. Reduced to typed sheets mounted uniformly on grey cardboards hung closely around three sides of the room, this exhibit looked very neat and suggestive.

Color and variety were added incidentally. *Pater* in a red-bordered toga stood beside *Mater* in yellow (on full-length dress forms). In a corner was a heavy cardboard Amphora in terra cotta with deep purple shadows. On one wall, above the boards was a large poster in red and white on tan of the Pompeian "Cave Canem"; on another wall was a red and yellow map of Italy printed on cotton. A brightly colored Child's map of the Ancient World (John Day Co., Inc., 25 W. 45th, New York) filled the bulletin board, while the cut-out paper figures in blue and brown from the "Play Book of Troy" were set up on a table. A realistic model of a Roman camp with several pieces of *tormenta* had a prominent position. Notebooks of various kinds, poems, and maps made by pupils were on the several student desks. A bronze bust of Caesar looked calmly down upon the whole exhibit.

The boards forming the exhibit proper began with the Aims and Content of the Latin Course as a whole and also year by year. These were followed by some twenty-five others taking up the work of each year. A careful study of these boards in detail revealed definite, practical applica-

tion of many methods and devices for teaching. A few are here presented not as new or startling but at least suggestive.

A Diagnostic Chart is an interesting method of recording test marks. The *Chart* has pockets arranged in columns for A, B, C, D, Fail, and Absent. A card for each name fits the pockets. The mark is put on the pupil's card and slipped into a pocket in the Column A for 100-95, B, etc. The cards are moved after each test. Thus the pupil can see his progress and his relation to his classmates. Great interest is thus aroused.

EMMA D. CHRISTENSEN

The Helvetian Campaign: Aids to making the events seem real:

A. Make an outline as follows:

- I. Chapter 1. Geography and Peoples —
 - Divisions and boundaries
 - Language and customs
 - Relative strength
- II. Chapters 2-29. Campaign against the Helvetians
 - Chapters 2-4. Conspiracy of Orgetorix
 - Preparation for migration
 - Conspiracy revealed — death of Orgetorix
 - Chapters 5-8. Helvetians' preparations continued
 - Caesar arrives to check the move
 - Right of way through Province refused
 - Fortification built along the Rhine

(Continue the outline throughout)

B. Have pupils write up some of these points in modern reporter style, or from the point of view of some individual Helvetian or legionary.

C. Stimulate interest by objective tests with questions in Latin and answers to be in Latin or in English. For example:

Quo anno Caesar bellum cum Helvetiis gessit?
Quis coniurationem Helvetiorum fecit?
Cuius gentis erat Casticus?
Initio belli qui erat numerus Helvetiorum una cum sociis?
Qui pagus consulem Romanum interfecerat?
Quis equitatus Helvetiorum praeerat?

Another method is to leave blanks to be filled by the pupil in a test, as:

1. ——— est extremum oppidum Allobrogum.
2. Omnis civitas Helvetiorum in ——— pagos divisa est.
3. Caesar ——— in fines suos reverti iussit.
4. Caesar ——— imperavit ut Helvetiis copiam frumenti facerent.

MARY R. MCINTYRE

An Outline in Latin of the Manilian Law

The outline is to be made by each pupil according to the regular divisions of a Roman oration. The various points are discussed in class, and each pupil offers his Latin version for criticism and suggestion. When the speech has been completed, the outlines are revised, re-written, and handed in. The following is the beginning of an outline by a pupil:

I. *Exordium*

- A. *Gratiam vobis pro praetura habeo*
- B. *Hic dicere honor est*
- C. *De virtutibus Pompeii dicam*

II. *Narratio*

- A. *Mithradates et Tigranes bellum gerunt*
- B. *Equites secundas res in Asia habent*
- C. *Pompeius est solus qui bellum administrare possit*

III. *Partitio*

- A. *De genere belli dicam*
- B. *Mea secunda ratio est de magnitudine belli*
- C. *Mea tertia ratio est de imperatore deligendo*

IV. *Confirmatio*

Etc.

GEORGIA C. BURGESS

Suggestions for the Vergil Teacher

To improve translation assign short passages to be translated in writing, choosing parts that will stimulate the pupil to use the best language at his command. These may be typed and collected into a booklet. If only a few of the best are chosen, there will be interested rivalry to get "in."

LINA K. GJEMS

Theme Words in the Dido Episode

Words or epithets, like motives in music, may tell a story. Illustrate from music on the Victrola. Overture from *Tannhäuser* serves well. The words are discussed as they occur first, and each is assigned to two or more pupils to be followed throughout the story.

Amor — exalted love

Cura — love with unrest

Furens — despair

Ignis — suicide motive

Fama — gossip

Culpa — self accusation

Ensis — gift motive (modern ring)

Tabulation of Word Occurrences

These words with synonyms or parallel expressions are tabulated as they occur in the reading as follows:

Word	Vs.	By whom spoken	To whom	Meaning
<i>Ensis</i>	Bk. iv, 262	Vergil	The reader	Dido's gift
<i>Ensem</i>	" 507	"	"	the gift left behind
<i>Ensem</i>	" 579	"	"	not the gift
<i>Ensem</i>	" 646	"	"	the gift, now on the funeral pyre
<i>Ensem</i>	" 664	"	"	the gift with which Dido kills herself

Epithets of Aeneas

The Epithets of Aeneas tell the whole story:

I. By Dido on his arrival:

multa virtus — *vultus verbaque* — *novus hospes* — *forti pectore et armis* — *genus deorum*.

II. By others during his stay at Carthage:

Phrygio marito (by Juno) — *viro* (by Fama) — *ille Paris* (by Iarbas) — *talem* — *pater* — *uxorius* (by Mercury).

III. By Dido at his departure:

perfide — *hospes de coniuge* — *improbe* — *hostem superbum* — *impius* — *hosti* — *advena* — *infandum caput* — *rogum capitis*.

ESTHER FRIEDLANDER

Music on Classical Themes

A list of such compositions from the pupils' music study or as played by the orchestra of the city makes an interesting study. The programs of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra are rich in such music.

Scenes from Ben Hur

The film production of *Ben Hur* has aroused a new interest in the fascinating story written by Lew Wallace. High-school students who have seen the picture or who are reading the book will

be glad to know that stills for most of the scenes are available. The stills may be purchased for ten cents each from The Still Department, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Pictures, Loew Building, 1540 Broadway, New York. The selected list given below will be found particularly valuable for Latin classes. In ordering, the numbers should be used as the titles are approximate only.

- 200-132 Messala, Ben Hur, Mother, and Sister in the home in Jerusalem
- 78x Roman Procession
- 200-16A Ben Hur Seized by Roman Soldiers
- 292 The Roman Galley
- 361 The Rowers in the Galley
- 300} The Sea Fight, or The Naval Battle between the Pirates and
- 375} the Romans
- 276}
- 360} Ben Hur and Arrius
- 200-81 Ben Hur and Esther at home of Simonides
- 543 Iras conspiring with Messala
- 200-474 Quarrel between Ben Hur and Messala before the Chariot Race
- 200-564}
- 200-692} The Chariot Race
- 200-659}
- 200-101 Ben Hur, Mother, and Sister After the Crucifixion. (View of City)

The Attainment of Ultimate Objectives

Mr. W. L. Carr, University of Michigan, has contributed *Some Classroom Activities Directed Toward The Attainment of Ultimate Objectives Commonly Regarded as Valid for First Year Latin*. The activities will appear in consecutive numbers of the JOURNAL. The activities based on Objective I are given below.

Objective I—Increased ability to understand Latin words, phrases, and abbreviations occurring in English

1. The pupil learns the more familiar Latin terms, abbreviations, and mottoes, through drill in class.
2. Pupil is encouraged to bring in Latin words and phrases as he observes them in reading or finds them on public buildings, etc., and through class discussion works out the meaning.
3. The pupil makes up lists as he meets instances in his reading. (Group competition will stimulate this activity.)
4. The teacher gives the class Latin quotations and mottoes as occasion offers.

5. Each pupil chooses a quotation which he especially likes and writes it in all his books and on all his papers.
6. The teacher writes a different motto on the board each week and thereafter frequently refers to it. (Pupils may help choose these mottoes.)
7. The pupil reports to the class Latin trade names found in advertisements (*e.g.* "lux," "velox").
8. The pupil brings clippings of jokes the point of which depends on a Latin word or phrase; *e.g.* "Did you graduate with *Cum laude*?" "No, he must have been there before my time."
9. The pupil reports to class mottoes found on coins, stamps, trademarks, college seals, etc.
10. The pupil makes up a list of Latin titles of poems, books, hymns, etc.
11. The pupil makes up a list of state mottoes.
12. The pupil is asked to be on the lookout for a Latin word or phrase involving the use of a given Latin word being studied; *e.g.* *post mortem* when *mors* first appears in the Latin reading or in a lesson vocabulary.

Random Notes on Words

Dean S. E. Stout, of Indiana University, has consented to contribute to this department every month some notes on Latin words. Since the notes will not form an actual series they will appear under the title *Random Notes on Words*.

HOMO, VIR

Homo means "a human being," man as distinguished from animals on the one hand or from the gods on the other. Its fundamental meaning includes woman as well as man. The expression *omnes homines* means "all human beings." A friend writing to console Cicero on the death of his daughter Tullia reminds him that she had been born a human being and therefore subject to death, *homo nata fuerat* (*Fam.* iv, 5, 4).

Vir means "man" as distinguished from "woman" (*mulier*). *Mas* and *femina* are "male" and "female," and may be applied to beasts or to gods as well as to human kind. *Vir* and *mulier* can be applied to beasts and gods only by a rhetorical or poetic extension of their proper meaning. *Omnes viri* would not include women, nor could one say of a woman *vir nata fuerat*.

Physical strength and courage in the presence of danger or death were thought to characterize men in contrast with women. For that reason *virtus* ("manliness") usually means courage, fortitude, or strength (*Cic., Tusc. Disp.* ii, 18, 43). *Vir* is also opposed to *puer*. *Vir esse* therefore

from both of these aspects means to be brave and strong against pain or the buffets of fortune.

The public life of the state was in an especial way the sphere of men, not of women or boys. In contexts therefore concerned with politics and government the word for man is usually *vir*. *Boni viri* are men who support sound policy for the state. Epithets of honor earned by distinguished public service are attached to *vir*, such as *vir iustissimus*, *amplissimus*, *clarissimus*, *optimus*, *constantissimus*, *ornatissimus*. Sometimes in this connection *homo* is used of a man who lacks civic virtue, as we use the word "fellow." This uncomplimentary use of *homo* is especially frequent in political abuse and in prosecutions in court.

It is not to be assumed however that in general *vir* is a man of the better sort and *homo* an insignificant or base fellow. When the excellence is one that characterizes man in contrast with beasts, such as intelligence, sentiment, sympathy with the misfortunes of men, reverence toward the gods, cultivated manners or taste, *homo* is the appropriate word. Thus we find *homo sanctissimus*, *prudenterissimus*, *sapientissimus*, *peritissimus*, *eloquentissimus*, *eruditissimus*. When Catullus calls upon men of finer feeling to sympathize with his lady in the loss of her pet sparrow his appeal is to *homines venustiores*. If this excellence has been exhibited, however, in the service of the state, the noun is more appropriately *vir*, as *sapientissimi viri, qui res publicas constituerunt, qui urbes condiderunt* (Cic., *De Div.* 1, 84). A man, however excellent, who is the first of his family to obtain an important office in the state is a *novus homo*.

Modern military commanders speak of their soldiers as their "men." In Latin this should be *milites*. A soldier is more than a *vir armatus*. He has taken a military oath, is part of an organized force in the service of the state, and has an official status. If he kills while acting under orders of his officer, the killing is not murder. Armed mobs, acting in opposition to good order, are *homines armati*; unofficial armed men supporting an officer of the state in enforcing good order are more likely to be called *virī armati*. Curiously enough Caesar in one passage (*B. C.* 11, 39) uses *homines*, and Livy once (xx1, 27) uses *virī* of foot soldiers in immediate contrast with cavalrymen (*equites*). A cavalryman as seen in action is a combination of man and horse; in immediate contrast an unmounted foot soldier is a man (*homo, vir*). This exceptional usage is not to be imitated. Where "men" in English means "soldiers," it should be expressed in Latin by *milites*.

A Cardboard Roman House

A colored Roman house made of cardboard may be purchased from Kenneth Flood and Leonard Sandiford, Bury Grammar

School, Bury, Lancaster, England, for five shillings. This cardboard house seems to interest Latin students more than much more pretentious and expensive models.

Special Days

A small set of filing cards will remind the busy teacher of important events to be noted or celebrated during the school year — Columbus Day, Hallowe'en, Armistice Day, Election Time, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Valentine's Day, The Birthdays of Caesar, Cicero, and Vergil, The Birthdays of Washington and Lincoln, the Ides of March, and Commencement. If appropriate words and ideas for these occasions are brought out in the Latin class, if the derivation of technical terms connected with them is studied, if songs are sung and poems read, the pupils feel that the study of Latin is after all a very interesting and vital one.

Pageant

"The Pageant of the Months" as given in *The Book of Knowledge*, Volume XIV, gives some excellent material for a project on that topic.

For Junior High School Latin Teachers

Junior High School Latin Teachers will be interested in two little books, *The Hob O' the Mill* and *Grain Through the Ages*, published by School Health Service, The Quaker Oats Company, Chicago, Ill., and distributed free of charge. *The Hob O' the Mill* contains two chapters of interest to Latin students — "When Greece was Young" and "A Boy on a Roman Farm." In *Grain Through the Ages* there are three chapters which could be used as a basis for special reports — "The Farmers of Greece," "The Farmers of Rome," and "Concerning the Farmers of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome."

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Car., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the November issue, for example, appears on October fifteenth and that the forms close on September twenty-fifth.]

American Classical League

The eighth annual meeting was held in the Curtis Hotel, Minneapolis, on July 5, 1928. There was a goodly attendance with the accustomed enthusiasm. The officers were re-elected with the exception that Supt. Susan M. Dorsey of Los Angeles replaced Prof. John A. Scott in the group of vice-presidents and was succeeded by Prof. Roy C. Flickinger as an elective member of the Council. The League is perhaps the most aggressive of the organizations which are planning to celebrate the bimillennial of Vergil in 1930; cf. the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xx (1924), 129-31 and xxiii (1928), 643. Under the general chairmanship of Dean Anna P. MacVay nearly thirty committees are beginning to function. The Service Bureau maintained by the League at Columbia University distributed over 100,000 pieces of printed material to classical teachers in 1927-28 as compared with 14,000 in 1923-24. The present membership of the League is nearly 4,500. The following papers were read at the public session:

Director Frances E. Sabin, "The Service Bureau in Retrospect and Prospect"; Prof. Martin B. Rudd, of the University of Minnesota, "The Human Side of Latin"; Miss Dorothy English, of London, England, "The Direct Method in Latin"; Prof. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College, "Classical Teachers and Education: The Past—The Future"; and Dean Anna P. MacVay, of the Wadleigh High School, New York City, "The Bimillennial Celebration in Honor of Vergil."

American School at Athens

As a result of the recent competitive examinations for fellowships in archaeology in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens the following appointments have been made for 1928-29: Fellow of the School, Miss Agnes Ellen Newhall, of South Boston, Mass., A.B. Bryn Mawr, 1927, *magna cum laude*; student at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1927-28 on a Carnegie scholarship. Fellow of the Institute, Miss Mary Zelia Pease, of New Haven, Conn., A.B. Bryn Mawr, 1927; student at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1927-28 on a scholarship from Bryn Mawr. Eight candidates took the examinations for the fellowships. No award was made of the fellowship in Greek language, literature, and history.

Bowdoin College

The undergraduate Classical Club of Bowdoin College presented, as part of the Sophomore Hop Festivities, the *Clouds* of Aristophanes on the afternoon of February 18 at the Cumberland Theater. The translation used was that of B. B. Rogers, reduced to a compass of 900 lines, the playing time being exactly one hour and one-half. The play was produced and directed by Professor Thomas Means.

University of Chicago

The decease of Dr. William Gardner Hale, Professor Emeritus and formerly Head of the Latin Department, is reported at his home in Stamford, Conn., on June 23, 1928. An appreciation will appear in an early number.

Classical Club of Greater Cleveland

The last dinner meeting for 1927-28 was held at the Women's City Club. Professor Gilbert Norwood, of the University of Toronto, delivered the address of the evening. His subject was, "God and Man in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides." The election of officers for the year 1928-29 resulted as follows: President, Edwin N. Findley, of South High School; Secretary, Miss Lydia Rebert, of the Collinwood High School; Treasurer, Miss June Eddingfield, of the John Marshall High School.

Cornell University

Dean Norman W. DeWitt has been given a year's leave of absence from Victoria College, University of Toronto, and is serving as acting Professor of Classics at Cornell University for the current year.

University of Iowa

Dr. James W. Pugsley, of Cornell University, has been appointed instructor in Latin, Greek, and History of Art. Miss Dorothy English, who taught Oral Latin here during the summer session, is continuing this work during the first semester. She has taught Latin in one of the Lon-

don high schools and is a prominent member of the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching, of which Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, of the Perse School in Cambridge, is the guiding spirit.

Classical Association of Kansas and Western Missouri

The twenty-second annual meeting of this Association was held at Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas, April 20-21, 1928. The following papers and addresses were given:

Dean Walter Miller, of the University of Missouri, "The American School in Athens and its Work" and "Olympia and the Olympic Games"; Professor C. I. Vinsonhaler, of Southwestern College, "Language Sense"; Miss Lillian Perry, of Cottonwood Falls, "Homeric Civilization as Revealed by Excavations"; Dean Irwin, of Baker University, "The Saturnalia"; Professor S. J. Pease, of Kansas State Teachers College at Pittsburg, "The New World"; Dean H. K. Ebright, of Baker University, "Plato and Paul"; Professor A. L. Wolfe, of Park College, "Mussolini, A Caesar or a Sulla?" Miss Amy Longworth, of Leavenworth, "The Development of an Appreciation for Vergil in the High-School Student"; Miss Elfrieda Draper, of Paola, "High-School Latin Assembly Programs"; Miss Hazel K. Pullman, of Garnett, "To What Extent Can Plays and Games Be Introduced Without Loss of Essentials?" Miss Madge Carmichael, of Columbus, "The Value of Latin in Its Relation to Other High-School Subjects"; Miss Helen M. Buckner, of Atchison, "A Five-year Junior High School Experience with Languages in Atchison"; Mrs. Hazel Maxson, of Iola, "The Correlation of Latin in the Junior and Senior High School"; Miss Bertha Williamson, of Ottawa, "The Teacher's Debt to the Service Bureau"; and Miss Mildred McMurty, of the College of Emporia, "Myths Up-to-Date."

University of Michigan

To replace Professor Francis W. Kelsey, Head of the Department of Latin, who died May 14, 1927, and Professor Henry Arthur Sanders, who succeeded him as head of the department and last spring accepted the invitation to become Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Rome, Professor John G. Winter, whose title has hitherto been Professor of Greek and Latin, was made Professor of Latin Language and Literature and Head of the Latin Department. Dr. B. M. Meritt has been appointed Associate Professor of Greek. Professor Campbell Bonner, Head of the Greek Department, who was Annual Professor at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens during 1927-28, returned at the end of the summer and has again taken up his duties. Two members of the classical departments, Drs. Orma F. Butler and W. E. Blake, have been promoted to assistant professorships.

Mississippi Valley Classical Association

The following program of this Association was rendered at Carthage, Illinois, on March 16-17:

"Roman Britain" and "On the Trail of the Ancients in Greece" by Roy C. Flickinger, of the University of Iowa, who also spoke at the College Convocation on Friday morning; "What Shall We Stress in First-Year Latin?" by Miss Ruth Carson, of West Illinois Teachers College at Macomb; and "When the Dead Awake" by John Calvin Hanna, supervisor of high schools in Illinois.

Officers for 1928-29 are to be: President, Dr. Ruth Carson, of Macomb; Secretary, Mrs. Frieda B. Hubbard, of Carthage; and Treasurer, Miss Kathryn Callihan, of Hamilton.

Classical Association of New England and Classical Club of Greater Boston

On the eleventh of February the Eastern Massachusetts section of the Classical Association of New England held its twenty-first annual meeting, in connection with the Classical Club of Greater Boston, in the Lecture Hall of the New Fogg Museum at Cambridge. About 150 members and friends were present. The following program was given:

Address of Welcome, Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School, President of the Section; "The Public High School and the College Entrance Examination," George A. Land, Newton High School; "The Law and the Classics," Elliott B. Church, Esq., Boston; "The Staging of a Greek Play," Professor John J. Collins, S.J., College of the Holy Cross; "Ancient and Modern Athens" (illustrated), Mrs. Harriet Boyd Hawes, Wellesley College; "Horace's Sabine Farm" (illustrated), Professor Edward K. Rand, Harvard University.

The officers for 1928-29 are: President, Professor William C. Greene, Harvard University; Secretary, Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School.

Oberlin College

Professor Louis Lord is absent on leave for 1928-29, serving as Annual Professor at the American School in Athens. Professor Leigh Alexander, who was abroad last year, has returned. Professor Leslie W. Jones, of the University of California, has returned to Oberlin as Associate Professor.

Ohio Wesleyan University

The classical department of Ohio Wesleyan University received notable additions to its collection illustrating Roman life in the form of bronze reproductions of objects in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, photographic reproductions in color of wall frescoes at Pompeii, and a large number of new lantern slides of points of classical interest in Italy from Naples to the Alps. During the year the activities of the Latin Club were marked by the first performance of *Nero*, a new Latin play by

Professor Robinson; the ninth annual performance of the Latin Easter play, *Christus Triumphator*, and an extremely successful Roman banquet.

Rhode Island Branch of the New England Classical Association

At the request of a group of teachers of classical subjects made about two years ago, a Rhode Island Branch of the New England Classical Association was organized. Its first meeting was held in connection with the meetings of the High School Section of the Rhode Island Teachers' Institute in 1926; it has since held its fall meetings in connection with the Institute and its spring meetings with the Brown University Teachers' Association. This year there was sufficient interest to warrant a mid-winter meeting which was held January 14 at the Cranston High School. After a luncheon served by the school, the meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. Charles Paine, vice-principal of the Providence Classical High School, who introduced the following speakers:

"Address of Welcome," Mr. Clarence W. Bosworth, principal of Cranston High School; "Notes from My Experience in Teaching Reading at Sight," Mrs. Harriet P. Fuller, Providence Classical High School; "Some Aims and Methods in Teaching Prose," Miss Susan Franklin, Roger's High School, Newport; "Not in the Textbook," Professor Ben Clough, Brown University.

Shorter College

The Classical Club of Shorter College, Rome, Ga., recently gave a successful presentation of the Pseudo-Senecan *Octavia*. The play was directed by Professor Clara L. Thompson, who also prepared the text used, modifying the original somewhat to adapt it to the purpose and supplying it with stage directions.

Leland Stanford Junior University

Dr. Raymond D. Harriman, of the University of Utah, has been appointed Associate Professor of classical languages.

Tennessee Philological Association

The twenty-second annual meeting of the Tennessee Philological Association was held at the University of Tennessee, March 2 and 3. The papers on classical subjects were as follows:

"Acquiring a Vocabulary in a Foreign Language," Clyde Pharr, Vanderbilt University; "Coin Portraits of the Roman Emperors," George B. Hussey, Maryville College; "The Unchanged—Some Modern Customs and Scenes Familiar to Cicero and Horace," Ruth Thomas, East Tennessee State Teachers College; "Hellenistic Literature," A. W. McWhorter, University of Tennessee; "Roman Private Life as Revealed in the *Satires* of Horace," Grace Beede, Hiwassee College; "Woman and the Web of Early Roman History," Helen E. Galbreath, Knoxville High School; "Making Latin Palatable," Mary

Katheryn Tanner, Rockwood High School; "The Greek Athlete," T. C. Hutton, Carson and Newman College; "Wooden Aqueducts, Roman and Modern" (Illustrated), C. E. Little, George Peabody College for Teachers; "Analysis of Latin Conditional Statements," R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University; "Lucretius the Modernist," Isabel Gulley, Tennessee College; "The Epithalamium as a Type of Literature," Nellie Angel Smith, West Tennessee State Teachers College.

Washington University

Professor Frederick W. Shipley is on leave of absence during 1928-29, serving as Annual Professor in the Classical School of the American Academy in Rome.

Western College for Women

Sophocles' *Antigone*, translated into English and accompanied by the Mendelssohn music, was presented May 15th and June 4th by the senior class at the Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio, in the Nature Theater. An audience of more than 2000 people was in attendance.

Recent Books

Compiled by HARRY M. HUBBELL, Yale University

- ANACREON, *The Odes of Anacreon*, translated by ERASTUS RICHARDSON: New Haven, Yale Univ. Press (1928). Pp. 85. \$2.50.
- APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica*, Book III, edited with Introduction and Commentary by M. M. GILLIES: Cambridge Univ. Press (1928). Pp. 210. 15s.
- ARISTOTLE, *Works*, translated and edited by W. D. ROSS; Vol. VIII, *Metaphysics*: Oxford Univ. Press (1928). 10s 6d.
- BLUNT, A. W. F., *The Ancient World and Its Legacy to Us*: Oxford Univ. Press (1928). Pp. 216. \$1.50.
- CRUM, EARL LEVERNE, "Index of Proper Names in Servius" (*University of Iowa Studies*): Iowa City (1928). Pp. 75. \$1.00.
- GILBERT, GEORGE HOLLEY, *Greek Thought in the New Testament*: New York, Macmillan (1928). Pp. 216. \$1.75.
- LUCAS, FRANK LAWRENCE, *Tragedy in Relation to Aristotle's Poetics*: New York, Harcourt (1928). Pp. 160. \$1.25.
- LUCRETIIUS, *Munro's Lucretius*, fourth edition, finally revised, edited by E. N. DAC. ANDRADE, Vol. II, Explanatory Notes: London, Bell (1928). Pp. 446. 12s. 6d.
- LUPTON, J. H., *An Introduction to Latin Lyric Verse Composition*: London, Macmillan (1928). Pp. 181. 3s. 6d.
- LUTZ, HANS, *Beiträge zur Frage der Leibesübungen und zur Erklärung einzelner Stellen in Homers Odyssee*: Erlangen diss. (1927). Pp. 55.
- MAGOFFIN, RALPH VAN DEMAN, and HENRY, MARGARET YOUNG, *Latin — First Year* (Climax Series): New York, Silver, Burdett (1928). Pp. 445. Ill. \$1.48.
- MEYERHÖFER, EMIL, *Der Aufbau des Terenzischen Eunuchus*: Erlangen, Junge u. Sohn (1927). Pp. 59.
- PLATO, *The Hippias Major attributed to Plato*, with Introduction and Commentary by D. TARRANT: Cambridge Univ. Press (1928). Pp. 188. 12s. 6d.
- PLATO, *Phaedo*, translated by the HON. P. DUNCAN: Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 180. 6s.
- PLATO, *The Works of Plato, Abridged*, edited by IRWIN EDMAN: New York, Simon and Schuster (1928). Pp. 602. \$2.50.
- RINGWOOD, IRENE C., *Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals, chiefly*

- from *Inscriptional Evidence*, Pt. 1, Non-Attic Mainland and Adjacent Islands, except Euboea: Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Author (1928). Pp. 109.
- ROBERTSON, J. C. and H. G., *The Story of Greece and Rome. Their Growth and their Legacy to our Western World*: London, Dent (1928). Pp. 368. Ill. 4s. 6d.
- ROSTOVITZ, MICHAEL IVANOVICH, *Mystic Italy*: New York, Holt (1927). Pp. 197. \$2.50.
- SALMON, BRAINERD P., *Glimpses of Greece*: Washington, D.C., Hellenic Information Bureau (1928). Pp. 112. \$1.25.
- SALONIUS, A. H., *Die Griechen und das Griechische in Petrons Cena Trimalchionis*: Leipzig, Harrassowitz (1928). Pp. 38.
- SCOON, ROBERT, *Greek Philosophy before Plato*: Princeton Univ. Press (1928). Pp. 359. \$3.50.
- TACITUS, *The Sixth Book of the Annals*,² edited by REV. A. J. CHURCH and REV. W. J. BRODRIBB: London, Macmillan (1928). 2s. 6d.
- THURSBY, CLAIRE C., and KYNE, GRETCHEN DENKE, *Living Latin for the Junior High School*: New York, Macmillan (1928). Pp. 504. Ill. \$1.40.
- WALLACE, FLORENCE ELIZABETH, "Color in Homer and in Ancient Art" (*Smith College Classical Studies*, No. 9): Northampton, Mass., Smith College (1927). Pp. 83.
- WAY, SISTER AGNES CLARE, "The Language and Style of the Letters of St. Basil" (*Patristic Studies*, Vol. XIII): Washington, D.C., Catholic Univ. of America (1927). Pp. 244. \$1.00.